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A

COMPENDIOUS

HISTORY OF ITALY

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN,

BY NATHANIEL GREENE

New-York:

HARPER & BROTHERS, 82 CLIFF-ST.

Stereotype Edition.

1836.

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A

COMPENDIOUS HISTORY

OF

ITALY.

DIVIDED INTO FIVE EPOCHS, VIZ.:

1.—From the Foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium; B.C. 31.
2.—From Octavius Augustus to the Fall of the Western Roman Empire; A.D. 476.
3.—From Odoacer to the Pontificate of Gregory VII; A.D. 1065.
4.—From Gregory VII. to the Pontificate of Julius II.; A.D. 1503.
5.—From Julius II. to the beginning of the Year A.D. 1831.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

During the latter ages, a more decided genius for history has been developed in Italy than in any other country of Europe. Soon after the revival of letters, when Mezerai had yet given to France no proof of his historical ability, nor England yet seen the works of Clarendon, the only English historian previous to Hume worthy of the name, Italy already enumerated a Villani, a Machiavelli, a Guicciardini, a Varchi, a Sarpi, a Davila, and a Bentivoglio, who had so far distinguished themselves in this species of composition as to occupy the front rank among modern historians. Bolingbroke, who was well versed in Italian literature, did not hesitate to rank Guicciardini above Thucydides, and to compare Davila with Titus Livius; and Gibbon, endowed with great knowledge and the nicest discernment, has affirmed that Guicciardini, Machiavelli, Sarpi, and Davila, were justly

reputed the first historians in the modern languages of Europe.

Nor did the Italian writers solely occupy themselves with the history of the republics and principalities of Italy; but having exhausted, thus to speak, all the materials which their own country afforded, they devoted themselves with equal success to those furnished by foreign nations. And who does not know that Catterino Davila and the Cardinal Bentivoglio wrote, better than any others, one the civil wars of France, and the other those of Flanders?

The Italian writers of our own day are in no respect inferior to those of times past; and the historians of the nineteenth century show themselves to be worthy rivals of those of the fifteenth. The United States of America recognise in Carlo Botta the most faithful and impartial narrator of the war for independence.

But Botta has another and a greater title to the admiration of the literary world: that of having continued in two other works, and brought down to the present time, the *History of Italy* left by Guicciardini at the year 1532. The first of these contains the history of Italy from the year 1533 to that of 1779; the second, the history of Italy from 1780 to 1814, the fall of Napoleon. Both

of these works, preceded by the history of Guicciardini, with a preface and notes by Botta, were last printed at Paris in 21 volumes 8vo. Another work of the same species has since been published in Italy by Luigi Bossi, with the title of "The History of Italy, ancient and modern," in 19 volumes 16mo.

It is unnecessary for me to speak of the importance of a thorough knowledge of the history of a country so fertile in heroes and statesmen, and which cherished through the dark ages, and subsequently rekindled, the never entirely extinguished sparks of civilization and liberty—an importance which has been obvious to men of intelligence and reflection of all times and countries, and especially to English readers who have studied and admired the works of Machiavelli, Sarpi, and Guicciardini, in the excellent translations we possess of those authors.

Of the histories of Italy by Bossi and Botta, I have yet seen no translation. It is from these two works, principally, that the "*Compendious History of Italy*" of Signore Sforzosi appears to have been compiled; a work remarkable for the elegance of its style, as well as for the clearness and precision with which the events are sketched, and which I have here attempted to translate, for the purpose

rather of indicating than supplying a void which exists in English historical literature, and also of attracting the attention of my countrymen to a portion of history so replete with instruction, warnings and examples to the happy citizens of these United States.

Boston, October, 1835.

HISTORY OF ITALY.

"Il bel paese
Ch' Apennin parte, il mar circonda, e l'Alpe."

FIRST EPOCH.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF ROME TO THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM, B. C. 31.

Dense and impenetrable darkness involves the events of Italy up to the period when from its centre sprang that people, admirable for their valour and perseverance, who, with the force of their arms, the wisdom of their policy, and the terror of their name, obtained the mastery of an entire world.

Of the people who in those remote ages occupied so fine a country, fame hardly transmits to us the bare name, remaining silent upon their origin and their actions. It appears, however, that the Salassi, the Insubres, the Ligures, the Heneti or Veneti, and all others, were greatly exceeded in valour, power,

and civilization by the Etrusci or Tuscans, who had extended their dominion from the Athesis or Adige, to beyond the Vulturnus. Enervated, however, by luxury, and enfeebled by cruel civil discords, they fell in a short time from so much greatness, broke the strong social ties which had held them united, and thenceforth became divided into small republics and principalities.

About this time numerous inhabitants of proximate Gaul successively crossed the Alps, spread themselves over the plains of Italy, and either expelling the ancient inhabitants or mixing with them, rapidly occupied a great portion of the ample country which lies upon the two banks of the Eridanus, as far east as the Rubicon, and westwardly as far as the Arno: to this tract they gave the name of Cisalpine Gaul.

[U. C. 1.] But already, from the most humble beginnings, arose in Latium, upon Mount Palatine, whoever might have been its founder, the city destined to become the mistress of the world. Avoiding the uncertain or fabulous traditions which in ancient times nearly always overshadowed the cradles of rising colonies, history designates Romulus, a man of a most warlike spirit and more than ordinary prudence, as having been its first king.

Such a prince was very necessary for the new colony: because, being surrounded on every side by the Hernici, the Æqui, the Volsci, the Veientes, the Sabines, the Crustumini, the Falisci, and other warlike people, who were, perhaps by instinct, jealous

of such a neighbour, she needed beyond measure a prudent leader, able to devise wise internal regulations, while with a strong arm he could ensure its safety from such numerous and formidable enemies. Such a leader was Romulus.

True it is that if these people (obliged to avenge upon the Romans the betrayal of their hospitality, the ravishment of their daughters, forcibly taken from them while unsuspiciously celebrating their festive rites) had combined their strength against the robbers, Rome, overcome by numbers, might have been easily destroyed, and her history would have terminated where it commenced; but different, very different, was to be her destiny. Boiling with anger, and breathing nothing but vengeance, the people who had been outraged in so tender a point, successively, without any concert, precipitated themselves upon the offenders; but, being successively defeated, and their cities one after the other being taken and destroyed, their territories fell into the power of their conquerors, and they themselves were transported to Rome, and soon became Romans; thus augmenting the power of their rival, and contributing to enlarge her sway.

[U. C. 38.] To Romulus, murdered by the patricians, who would no longer suffer his tyranny, or, as others pretend, drowned in the Tiber, succeeded Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, and a king of a pacific and religious disposition. He, dexterously profiting by the terror inspired by the Roman arms, contrived by his prudent management to maintain a profound

peace during the whole of his reign. He tamed and polished the savage habits of his subjects, turned them to the study of agriculture and the arts, and, feigning mysterious colloquies with a divinity, (as did Mohammed in after times,) inspired them with religious sentiments, invented rites, erected temples, consecrated priests, and established the basis of that vast superstition which thenceforth so strongly enchained the Romans, and became, perhaps, one of the instruments of their marvellous greatness.

[U. C. 83.] Tullus Hostilius, being elected by the general voice to succeed Numa, immediately took the reins of government. The neighbouring people, who, until then, had been deterred from any hostile attempt by a veneration for the pacific virtues of Numa, took up arms under the existing circumstances, which they supposed favourable to their designs. They soon, however, had cause for repentance. Beaten and conquered in divers encounters with this warlike and enterprising prince, they were constrained to purchase peace with the sacrifice of a portion of their territory, which the victorious king distributed among the Romans. Alba, more obstinate in resistance, was taken by assault and destroyed; her people, transported to Rome, became Romans.

[U. C. 113.] Ancus Martius, elected the fourth king of Rome, united in himself the courage of Romulus and the virtue of Numa Pompilius, of whom he was a nephew. He vanquished those among the neighbouring people who dared to violate the Roman

territory, extended the limits of his dominion, improved and embellished the city, enlarged its circuit —so that it comprised the Janiculum and Mount Aventine, founded the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, and made many other useful improvements which caused his name to be blessed, and endeared him to posterity.

[U. C. 139.] Tarquinius Priscus, a senator, named by Ancus Martius the tutor of his sons, so craftily managed his intercourse with the people that he succeeded in procuring himself to be elected successor to the deceased monarch. The sons of Ancus conceived a violent resentment against Tarquin, who had thus destroyed their hopes of succeeding their father. This prince kept in proper restraint the rival nations which were jealous of the increasing greatness of Rome, instituted the triumphal celebrations—the spur and recompense of great warlike efforts; and constructed in the city aqueducts of such admirable structure and of such solidity that they form even now, after the lapse of so many centuries, the admiration and wonder of all connoisseurs. But the implacable hatred of the sons of Ancus Martius was fatal to him: he was murdered by assassins employed by them for the purpose.

[U. C. 175.] Servius Tullius, son-in-law of the deceased Tarquin, was, by the management of Tanaquil, his widow, declared king of Rome. He repelled the invasions of those enemies who, at every change of dynasty, flew to arms with the vain desire of repairing the losses consequent upon previous defeats, and gained much popular favour by paying the

debts of those citizens who had fallen into indigence.

But dearly did the liberality of Servius cost the people. Until then the Romans had individually and without any distinction among them voted the laws and public acts. The new prince conceived and executed the design of robbing the poor of their political rights.

Under the pretext of rendering the imposition of taxes more just and more equally proportioned to the ability of each one, he craftily captivated the plebeians (who suspected no covert design) with the pleasing idea that they were to be freed from the truly enormous weight by which they were oppressed.

Hence he divided the whole population into six classes, and these into *centuries*, or companies of a hundred men. The first five classes contained the different grades of wealth, and formed in all ninety-two centuries. The last class (alone more numerous than all the other five together, being that which contained the poor) composed only one century. He then decreed that thenceforward the suffrages should be no more given individually, as before, but by the centuries.

The effect of this regulation was, that from that day the rich alone had the absolute control of affairs, and the poor, although not deprived of the right of suffrage, could no longer exercise the least influence —as the few centuries of the poor and least rich could not contend with the numerous centuries of the most wealthy.

While, however, Servius Tullius was in this manner

modifying the regulations of the state, an atrocious conspiracy, of which his son-in-law Tarquin, called the Proud, and his daughter Tullia were at the head, deprived him of his throne and life.

[U. C. 219.] Tarquinius Superbus, yet reeking with the blood of his unfortunate father-in-law, disdaining the suffrages of the senate and the people, ascended the throne, the object of his ambition, and exercised the regal dignity with a fury equal to that with which he had acquired it. Injustice and violence usurped the place of rights and laws. Trembling with a tyrant's fears, he confided to foreign mercenaries the custody and defence of his person. Accusations and punishments spread universal terror and alarm: the oppressed senate groaned in silence, and the debased and desponding people dared not to complain. Hatred of the barbarous despot, brooding in silence, only wanted a spark to cause an explosion and overthrow the tyranny.

While Tarquin was closely besieging the city of Ardea, capital of the Rutuli, Sextus, his son, with violence compelled Lucretia, a noble matron and wife of Collatinus, to yield to his infamous desires. Not being able to survive her shame, with her own hand she stabbed herself, in the presence of her husband, of Junius Brutus, and her assembled kinsmen, after having made known the insupportable outrage she had received, and implored them to avenge it. They immediately ran through the city, brandishing the bloody dagger of Lucretia, and calling upon all the citizens to arm for liberty.

[U. C. 245.] The people, exasperated by the

atrocious act, collected from every side. The king, and even the very name of king, were proscribed for ever. They proclaimed the REPUBLIC; and it was agreed that two persons should be taken every year from the class of the patricians, to govern under the name of consuls. The first consuls were Junius Brutus and Collatinus.

Tarquin, meanwhile, being abandoned by the army, fled into Etruria, where he made various attempts to open a way for his reascension upon the throne; these being discovered through the vigilance of the consuls, Brutus learned with horror that his own two sons were accomplices of Tarquin in these base conspiracies. Conquering with incredible constancy the struggles of his heart in these terrible moments, between his natural affections and his love of country, he condemned them both to suffer death with the other conspirators, and was able to witness and survive the execution of the dreadful sentence.

When a people lose their liberty and groan under the oppressive tyranny of a despot, no other pitying people volunteer to succour them, to break their chains, and aid them in regaining their primeval rights. Not so with a king, even when justly expelled by a people whom he has oppressed; the whole fraternity of monarchs, far and near, come to aid with their counsels and their arms in re-establishing him upon his forfeited throne. Hence it is not strange that in his merited misfortune the exiled Tarquin should find a powerful king to lavish his treasures and the blood of his subjects in his cause.

Porsenna, sovereign of a portion of Etruria, hav-

ing caused himself to be preceded by an army of chosen men, joined Aruns, a son of Tarquin, who with a few Roman partisans lurked in the vicinity of Rome. Brutus marched out to meet him, and a fierce encounter followed: in the heat of the contest, Brutus perceiving Aruns, who was fighting in the front of the battle, fell upon him with incredible fury. Aruns did not decline the encounter, but with an equal impetuosity threw himself upon Brutus; and both fell together, each transfixed by the weapon of the other.

Porsenna arrived soon after with the main body of his army, and laying siege to Rome, pressed it vigorously: but the prodigious valour of the Romans rendered useless all the efforts of the opposing monarch, who, taking counsel from experience, and judging that a people combating for their rights must be invincible, abandoned the interests of Tarquin, who had already cost him too much, and establishing peace with the new republic, returned with his diminished army to his own kingdom.

Tarquin was not, however, disheartened by this failure. He induced, by his intrigues and promises, thirty Latin cities to favour his cause with all their power; and, uniting their forces, he pushed them on against the Romans whom he denominated his rebel subjects.

Great was the peril of Rome, not from the power of the approaching and threatening enemy, but from the domestic dissensions which at this time arose between the people, who were oppressed with misery and usury, and the patricians, their rich and piti-

less creditors. The squalid plebeians refused to take arms for the defence of the city, because they could derive no other profit from battles than poverty, wounds, and death. The sordid patricians refused, under specious pretexts, to remit to the miserable people their debts, either in whole or in part; on the contrary, the debtors were dragged, according to the laws, into close confinement, and there cruelly tormented to enforce payment.

The senate judged that in an extraordinary crisis they ought to recur to an extraordinary expedient, that of creating a supreme magistrate who should govern the state for six months, and possess the whole civil and military power during that time.

[U. C. 255.] This bold but perilous resolution was extremely useful to Rome; discord disappeared, and private interests were silenced; all yielded to the immense and absolute power of the dictator, and the complete victory which the Romans gained over the Latins in the sanguinary battle fought upon the banks of the Lake Regillus, fixed the destinies of the republic. The sons of Tarquin expired there; and Tarquin himself, oppressed with the weight of his misfortunes, died soon after at Cumæ, to which place he had retired.

But the exterior war extinguished, more ardently and more terribly burst forth the intestine dissensions between the plebeians and the patricians, the obstinacy of which had increased to such a degree that, notwithstanding the efforts of the wisest among the senators, they abandoned the city in masses, not only without committing any disorder,

but even with admirable order and discipline, and encamped upon the side of Mons Sacer, on the shore of the Anio, about a league from Rome; nor would they consent to return until it was conceded to them that a popular magistracy should be created, which should efficiently protect their interests against the violence of the patricians and the oppression of the senate: such annual magistracy to be sacred and inviolable, and called the tribunes of the people. Thus the proud senators and patricians, refusing to grant just and moderate demands, were compelled unwillingly to consent to a measure which gave immense power to the plebeians, and was, in process of time, the lamentable cause of fatal and bloody contests. In fact, the tribunes of the people, seeing their authority always increasing, no longer limited themselves to granting or refusing their approbation to the decrees of the senate, without which they could not have the force of laws, but in a short time even the power to convoke the people in popular assemblies, independently of the consuls and of the senate, was also given to them. In connection with these assemblies of the plebeians, they usurped the legislative power; they annulled the constitution of Servius Tullius, with regard to the voting by centuries, and restored to its full vigour that of Romulus, which established that the suffrages should be given by tribes. Having by such means gained the power, they accomplished the condemnation of Coriolanus, a brave patrician and great captain, who had incurred the popular indignation by his inflexible severity.

[U. C. 262.] With domestic dissensions fre-

quently alternated short and successful foreign wars; the Tribune Terentius, reflecting upon the absolute want of regular laws in civil matters, and that all judicial decisions were pronounced either arbitrarily or in accordance with uncertain traditions, to destroy this abuse and at the same time to limit the excessive consular authority, proposed a law which, as it was aimed against the consuls and all those who could aspire to the consular dignity, excited the most serious contests; nevertheless the consuls and the senate were obliged to accede to it, and the law was approved. In consequence of this the decemviral magistracy was created, charged with the duty of preparing a civil code, and invested with sovereign and absolute power for a year. Appius Claudius was the first among the ten.

[U. C. 302.] They applied themselves to the duties of their charge with so much ardour that they were enabled within the year to submit to the public the laws which they had prepared, inscribed upon ten tables of oak. Both the senate and the people approved of them; but the important work not being yet completed, the decemvirs were confirmed in the supreme magistracy for another year—two other tables were added to the ten of the preceding year, which were also approved.

At first the decemvirs exercised the sovereign authority with the utmost mildness and forbearance; but, after the first year, believing themselves sufficiently confirmed in their usurped power, they dropped the veil of hypocrisy under which they had concealed their vices and their perfidy, and openly

discovered themselves to be tyrants. And who can say what fatal consequences would have followed to the republic, had not the infamous attempt of Appius Claudius upon the young Virginia (who was deliberately murdered by Virginius, her own father, as the only way of preserving her honour) put an end to the tyranny of the decemvirs? Electrified by the atrocious and bloody spectacle, the people flew to arms, re-established the consular government, and obtained new and advantageous laws. Of the culpable decemvirs, some voluntarily put an end to their own lives, and others concealed their ignominy and remorse in perpetual exile. Thus, for the second time, the blood of an innocent woman restored liberty to Rome.

[U. C. 348.] After various internal contests, interrupted only by short and successful wars with the neighbouring people, whom they always vanquished but never subdued, it was resolved to besiege Veii, a strong and powerful city of Etruria, distant only four leagues from Rome, and her implacable enemy. This siege lasted ten years, nor was the city taken by Camillus the dictator, but by means of a subterranean canal laboriously excavated by the soldiers in the bowels of the hill, upon the top of which the city was built. But for a brief period did the victorious dictator enjoy his proud triumph. Unjustly accused of having privately appropriated a portion of the booty of the conquered city, he did not wait for judgment, but voluntarily retired into exile.

[U. C. 360.] His ungrateful country was, how-

ever, compelled to recall him, not long afterward. An irruption of Cisalpine Gauls inundated Etruria, menacing the territory of the republic. The Romans marched against them tumultuously, without consuls, without order, and without discipline; guided by six military tribunes, who disagreed in their wishes and opinions. Impetuously attacked by the barbarians, they vilely turned their backs without scarcely striking a blow, bearing with the news of their discomfiture consternation and terror to Rome. The barbarians, closely following their flying enemy, possessed themselves of the city and gave it to the flames; after which they assaulted the capitol, where the bravest citizens had collected with a determination to defend themselves. Meeting with a repulse in their attack upon the capitol, and being impatient to return to their own territory, which had been invaded by the Veneti, they offered to retire for a sum of money. While they were debating the conditions, Camillus, who had promptly collected the scattered relics of the flying army, arrived, fell upon the astonished enemy, and gained a complete victory.

This great man, whom Livy pronounced to be the same in prosperous and adverse fortune, celebrated for the taking of Veii, for the defeat of the Gauls, for a second victory over the same barbarians, and for many other glorious trophies, died of a pestilence which about this time afflicted Rome and Italy.

[U. C. 410.] To the pest succeeded divers wars against the Volsci, the Hernici, and the Gauls, and against the Samnites, a warlike people who inhabited the mountainous country now known under

the name of Abruzzo; and these were mingled with the usual interminable discords between the people and the senate, each of whom, according to circumstances, alternately yielded or triumphed.

These were followed by the revolt of the Latins, and that of the Campani, who, unable to defend themselves against the Samnites, had a short time before given themselves to the Romans. The first (discomfited in a bloody battle, in which the consul Decius, seeing that his legions faltered, sacrificed himself to the infernal gods, and thus fell a victim to his love of country) submitted, and were permitted to enjoy the rights of Roman citizens. But the Campani, deprived of their privileges, formed themselves into colonies in various places, which resulted most usefully to Rome in her meditated conquest of all Italy.

[U. C. 471.] The successive and continued wars sustained by the Romans against the most powerful people of Etruria, of Latium, of Samnium, and of Campania, and her victories over these people and over the Gauls, had considerably extended the limits of the Roman republic, and spread in every direction the renown of her name and the fear of her arms.

The Tarentines, uniting to a total inability to resist an imprudent temerity—the offspring of profound hatred—ventured seriously to outrage the ambassadors sent by Rome to demand satisfaction for insults given to some Roman ships anchored in the port of Tarentum. But when the exaltation by which they had been blinded had subsided, they

trembled for the consequences; and hence, to avert the chastisement which their violation of the rights of ambassadors so justly merited, they invoked the aid of Pyrrhus, king of the Epirots, a brave warrior educated in the discipline of the most celebrated captains of the great Alexander.

Pyrrhus, yielding to the offers of the Tarentines, quickly crossed the Ionian Sea with a strong army, and marched against the Romans, who, on their side, were marching against Tarentum. The two armies encountered each other near Heraclea; but the Romans, frightened by the elephants of Pyrrhus, (monsters never before seen by them,) finally turned their backs and yielded the victory, after having fought valiantly and made such havoc among the enemy that it is said Pyrrhus exclaimed, "If I obtain another such victory I am lost."

The King of Epirus, discovering how difficult it was to vanquish such an enemy, increased the amount of remuneration which the Tarentines had contracted to pay, and expedited his minister, Cineas, to offer peace to the vanquished. But the Romans replied that he must first evacuate Italy, and then he might send to ask for peace.

Finally, after much manœuvring, the Romans and Epirots again engaged in a battle near Beneventum, in which the latter were completely beaten; deriving this time little or no assistance from their elephants, with the sight of which the Romans had become familiar. The fruit of this victory was the conquest of Magna Græcia, and also the occupation of all Italy, properly so called, the inhabitants of

which found themselves in the power of the republic, either as allies or as subjects, having become too weak to oppose henceforth her designs.

[U. C. 489.] Rome being now the mistress of Italy, was very far from desiring to interrupt the rapid course of her conquests; and her ambition increasing every day in proportion to the increase of the means of satisfying it, she looked with cupidity upon Sicily, meditating some pretext for occupying that rich and fertile island with her formidable legions. She also saw with jealous eyes the rich and warlike Carthage gradually extending her dominion; nor could the senate permit, in its far seeing policy, so powerful a rival to become firmly established so near the territory of the republic. Hence it was resolved to improve the least occasion which fortune might offer for the commencement of hostilities; nor did they wait long before an opportunity presented itself, although the embracement of it was little honourable to Rome.

A band of Campanian adventurers had by a surprise possessed themselves of Messana. Hiero, king of Syracuse, hastened to assail them: the Carthaginians, hoping, perhaps, to gain the city for themselves, flew to the succour of the adventurers; but these, fearing equally the Carthaginians and Syracusans, invoked the aid of the Romans, and placed themselves under their protection.

The Romans were not deaf to the invitation; and quickly preparing a flotilla, the consul, Appius Claudius, passed the strait, landed his troops, defeated and put to flight Hiero and the Carthaginians, who

had united their forces on the interference of a third party. Messana occupied, Agrigentum taken by force of arms, and Hiero constrained to peace and alliance with the conquerors, were the fruits of these successes in the first Carthaginian war.

[U. C. 493.] But what most showed the extraordinary genius and incredible activity of the Romans was the almost instantaneous creation of a military marine, which was judged absolutely indispensable on this occasion. Occupied for nearly five centuries upon the Italian continent, compelled to struggle continually with rival people for the existence of Rome, engaged in wars as often for their own defence as for assailing others, they had never turned their attention to naval affairs. In this exigency, however, they demonstrated the capability derived from their ardent ambition.

Taking for a model the skeleton of a Carthaginian galley which had been a long time previous wrecked upon their shores, in two months they prepared a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys, and exercising their galley slaves in the best manner they could, audaciously weighed anchor in search of the enemy. But, prudent in their audacity, they attached bridges furnished with grappling irons to each of their galleys, which falling upon the Carthaginian vessels, would hold them firmly, and thus transform the naval into a terrestrial battle. And so in fact it happened. The consul, Caius Duillius, admiral of the new fleet, as if by magic art sallying from the bosom of the sea, met and assailed his adversary and obtained a full and entire victory. Corsica and Sardinia, the

Carthaginians being expelled, fell into the power of the conquerors; and Attilius Regulus made a descent upon the coast of Africa to press more closely the war against the emulator of Roman greatness. While, however, proud of his triumphs, too much confiding in inconstant fortune, and neglecting the precautions which the alarm of the enemy caused him to consider superfluous, Regulus advanced to the siege of Carthage, he was himself attacked by the Carthaginians, vanquished, and taken prisoner. This great victory did not, however, delude the victors. The multiplied defeats and overthrows they had suffered had destroyed their courage. Hence they turned their thoughts towards peace, and sent ambassadors to Rome to demand it. And with them they sent Regulus, flattering themselves that a desire to restore so noble a prisoner to liberty would facilitate on the part of the Romans its conclusion; they made him swear, however, to return to Africa if the attempt should fail. It is said that when he came before the senate he employed the strongest arguments to dissuade his countrymen from making peace with their enemy, and that, having returned according to his oath, the barbarians were so irritated at his conduct, that they enclosed him in a barrel whose sides were everywhere pierced with iron spikes, and precipitated him from the top of a mountain into the sea.

The war then continued for some time; but finally the Carthaginians, disheartened by reiterated disasters, which were in nowise compensated by some partial successes, sued for peace, ready to submit to

the conditions which were very rigorously imposed by their victorious rival, and which declared all Sicily, except Syracuse which was provisionally left to their confederate, Hiero, a Roman province.

[U. C. 530.] Such was the issue of the first Punic war. The Romans quickly transported their dreaded legions from the shores of Africa to the banks of the Eridanus, in Cisalpine Gaul, where, marching from triumph to triumph, they totally subdued the country, established colonies in divers cities, conquered Istria and Illyria, and began from afar to show to the eyes of Greece her future masters.

[U. C. 534.] The peace between Carthage and Rome could not continue long; it was written in the volume of destiny that one of them must perish to swell the grandeur and power of the other.

During the interval between the first and second Punic war, the Carthaginians had recovered from their disasters, and largely compensated their losses by considerable conquests in Spain, under the guidance of Amilcar, their very able leader. Rome observed the progress of her rival with anxiety; but, distracted with other cares, could not openly impede it, although she deemed it indispensable to do so. In this exigency she had recourse to negotiations with some people of Iberia, and particularly with the Saguntines, with whom she entered into an alliance; and it was agreed with the Carthaginians that the Hebrus should serve as the boundary of their dominion.

In the mean time had arisen Annibal, the

most terrible enemy of Rome, who, while yet a child, had sworn upon the altars dedicated to the gods implacable and eternal hatred to the Roman name. From that time he had no other thought than that of preparing the means for avenging his humbled country, and building up her glory and her fortunes upon the ruin of her haughty rival.

[U. C. 535.] Having taken and destroyed Saguntum, the ally of Rome, who committed the great and impolitic error of not flying to her succour, the Carthaginian hero judged that he could not advantageously combat the Romans except in Italy itself; and there he resolved to carry the war. He consequently crossed, with a powerful army, yet more formidable for its valour and leader than its numbers, a part of Spain and Transalpine Gaul, and with unheard of efforts passed the Alps—overcoming with good fortune, wisdom, and incredible constancy, all the obstacles which man and nature had opposed to him; and, happily completing that wonderful march, arrived in Italy. There he routed the first Roman army that awaited him on the banks of the Ticinus, defeated the second near Placentia, and then penetrated into Etruria as far as Thrasymenus, where he gained a complete and signal victory over the third Roman army.

[U. C. 536.] So many and such sanguinary defeats did not in the least discourage the Romans. From the relics of their vanquished armies they created a new one, reinforced it with fresh levies, and, as usual with the republic in times of great peril, they elected a dictator. That dignity was conferred

upon Fabius, who was afterward surnamed the Temporizer, because by temporizing he saved the republic.

He carefully avoided every battle, occupied the heights of the mountains, and, hanging upon the skirts of the enemy, attentively watched their movements; at every opportunity he fell upon their scattered and fatigued bands, and by easy though minor successes restored courage to his troops; he also intercepted the provisions of the Carthaginians, and cut off their communications.

Annibal, disconcerted by this mode of warfare, extended himself into Campania, and thence into Apulia, attempting by the severe discipline which he enforced in his army, by his affability and constant good treatment, to conciliate the affections of the people, and establish a useful alliance with those of them who were discontented under the Roman yoke.

But, unfortunately for Rome, the wise dictator was succeeded in the command by the presumptuous Consul Varro, to whom the prudent circumspection of his colleague Æmylius seemed cowardice. The opposing armies were in sight of each other near Cannæ, a village rendered famous by the disasters of the Romans; Æmylius did not wish to hazard a battle; he considered that they ought to imitate exactly the conduct of Fabius, not doubting that the Carthaginians, surrounded by an inimical population, and suffering for provisions, would shortly be compelled to surrender or perish. But the impetuous Varro, assured of victory by the great numerical superiority of his army, and being unable to induce

the prudent Æmylius to consent to his designs, took advantage of a day when the command devolved upon himself, and drew his army out of their intrenchments to attack the Carthaginians. This was precisely what Annibal desired. Both parties fought furiously; but so great was the foresight, and so wise were the dispositions of the great Carthaginian leader, that the Roman legions were overwhelmed at every point, and almost totally destroyed. Æmylius, mortally wounded, expired at a short distance from the fatal battle field; and the rash Varro, escaping with a few followers, sought in Venusium to hide his shame and his repentance.

In the midst of universal consternation the firmness of the Roman senate and the constancy and patriotism of the people shone with new splendour. All flew to arms who were able to bear them—eight thousand slaves were made free and became soldiers—the citizens brought to the exhausted treasury all the gold and silver they possessed—and to the Consul Varro, who had arrived in Rome with the remains of the defeated army, were rendered solemn thanks, *because he had not despaired of the republic.*

While Annibal was endeavouring to repair at Capua and in Campania, where he had taken up his quarters, the losses he had suffered, the new Roman army again took the field, and by some partial successes regained their courage. Sempronius Gracchus beat the Carthaginians in Italy; Valerius Lævinus in Epirus routed Philip, king of Macedonia, an ally of the Carthaginians; and Annibal himself

could hardly sustain his position in front of Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, which he took by assault, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance, aided by the admirable Archimedes, opposed to him; and in Spain the young Publius Scipio had avenged the defeat and death of the two Scipios, conquered New-Carthage or Carthagena, where he made a booty of immense riches, and compelled the whole of Iberia to submit to the sceptre of the republic.

[U. C. 543.] Yet, notwithstanding so many advantages, and, above all, notwithstanding the defeat and death of Asdrubal, who, yielding to the better fortune of the young Scipio, had abandoned Spain, crossed the Alps, and descended into Italy with a powerful army in aid of his brother Annibal, this aged warrior firmly maintained his footing in the peninsula, and all the forces of the republic were unable to drive him from it. To effect this object, the young Scipio was ordered to pass with his army into Africa, and menace Carthage with a siege.

[U. C. 549.] Nor did the attempt fail. The Carthaginians, alarmed by a defeat which lost them the alliance of Masinissa, king of a portion of Numidia, who declared himself for the Romans, quickly recalled Annibal to the defence of his own country. The brave leader reluctantly obeyed; but fortune had now averted from him her smiles; he was overcome in the bloody battle of Zama, and the destinies of the two republics were there irrevocably decided: nothing was left to Carthage but submission and a dearly purchased peace—only for a short time re-

tarding her total destruction, which had already been firmly determined by her inexorable conquerors.

[U. C. 552.] Having subdued and humiliated her once powerful rival, the ambitious genius of Rome developed itself freely. Like a torrent which has broken and borne away its opposing barriers, she thenceforward inundated Europe and Africa: Asia, also, from the inaccessible forests of the north, to the immense seas of moveable sands at the south and east, became her prey.

Having repressed the insurrections of the Hispani, and of the Cisalpine Gauls, she turned her arms against Philip, king of Macedonia, to punish him for the favour he had shown to Carthage. The army of Philip being defeated in the pitched battle of Cynoscephalæ, he remained a tributary, while the Greek cities which had fallen into his power were liberated. Extreme was the joy of those simple people, who did not cease to applaud their liberators; but they soon learned the nature of Roman generosity, and of what sort of liberty they were the donors. The present were no longer the Romans of those times when the chief magistrates were taken from the plough—with the increase of their empire had also increased their desires; the severe probity of their great progenitors was banished from their hearts, and every means were now reputed honest if they could be made subservient to the gratification of their ambition. The shrewd Ætolians, doubting their good faith, and neither desiring to have such neighbours, nor feeling themselves sufficiently strong to remove them alone, had recourse to Antiochus,

king of Syria, already from political jealousy and still more by Annibal, who had taken refuge at his court, highly excited against the Romans. But the Ætolians and Antiochus, defeated, (the one at Thermopylæ by Manius Acilius, and the other by the Consul L. Scipio at Magnesia, in Asia Minor,) were constrained to submit and receive the laws of the conquerors; the Ætolians putting themselves into the hands of the Romans, and Antiochus ceding a part of his empire—with a portion of which the Romans rewarded the Rhodians and Eumenes, king of Pergamus, who had rendered them great services in the course of this war. Annibal, finding no longer any asylum against the persecuting hatred of the Romans, put an end to his life.

[U. C. 566.] So many successful wars, so many conquests, so many tributes, and so considerable an extension of commerce, brought to Rome immense wealth; with wealth came luxury and depravity of manners. The censor, Portius Cato, attempted in vain to oppose a barrier to the devastating torrent—all his efforts were useless, and resulted in rendering himself odious to the rich, and acceptable only to the mendicants.

In these times the illustrious Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Carthage, was by two of the tribunes accused to the people of having suffered himself to be corrupted by the money of Antiochus. Africanus, instead of justifying himself, exclaimed, "*It is to-day so many years since I conquered Annibal and Carthage; follow me, Romans, to the capitol—let us go and thank the gods.*" But the accusation be-

ing renewed more furiously, he retired from Rome and died in voluntary exile.

[U. C. 582.] People, and yet more monarchs, who from a state of freedom and independence are by adverse fortune conducted to an unwilling submission to a cruel conqueror, must necessarily and continually desire to shake off the yoke of oppression, and to recover their primeval liberty: to this end alone tend all their movements—to this only aim are all their thoughts directed.

Philip, king of Macedonia, being dead, his son Perseus succeeded him on the throne, and in his dependence upon the Romans. The examples of others did not render him wiser. He took up arms for the acquisition of independence, and sought alliances among the malcontent Greeks; but, although in the commencement he vanquished Licinius Crassus and two other consuls sent against him, he was himself finally conquered and made prisoner in the battle of Pydna, by Paulus Æmylius, who dragged him to Rome in triumph. There he lived and died obscurely, and the kingdom of Macedonia was declared a Roman province.

[U. C. 604.] But the time had now arrived when the total ruin and extermination of unfortunate Carthage was to satiate the implacable hatred of Rome. Carthage fell: but the circumstances of the victory were so opprobrious and infamous for the conquerors, that the human heart cannot but feel commiseration for the vanquished, and abhorrence for the atrocious cruelty of the victors.

Masinissa, king of Numidia, and an ally of the

Romans, being certain of their favour and protection, proceeded in a time of profound peace to usurp much valuable territory belonging to Carthage. The Carthaginians, who by treaty were prohibited from having recourse to arms without the consent of Rome, sent thither ambassadors, to explain the nature of their wrongs and to invoke the protecting aid of the Romans in obtaining justice. The senate was not slow in sending legates into Africa, apparently to arrange equitably the differences between the King of Numidia and Carthage, but in fact with secret instructions to temporize as much as possible, and to regulate their conduct according to circumstances. The Carthaginians, obtaining nothing from the influence of the legates, who fed them only with fallacious hopes, finally took up arms according to the right of nature, determined to repel force by force; but in a bloody conflict they were vanquished with great loss by Masinissa. The legates then threw off the mask, and accusing the Carthaginians of having violated the peace, declared war against them.

Horrorstruck by this unexpected and formidable annunciation, the Carthaginians, acknowledging themselves unable to sustain so unequal a contest, submitted to all the requisitions of the senate: they proclaimed themselves subjects of Rome—gave three hundred illustrious hostages as security for their fidelity—and deposited in the hands of the consuls, Marcius and Manilius, all their arms and military stores.

The wretched inhabitants supposed that at so dear a price they had at least purchased existence;

but they were deceived. The consuls, supported by a powerful army, soon intimated the order for the abandonment of the city, which, according to the determination of the senate, was to be given to the flames and razed to its foundations.

At first they were stupified with grief; then the rage and desperation excited by the treachery of their inexorable enemy drove them to phrensy. Deprived of arms, they made arms of everything; gold and silver supplied the place of iron and brass; with their novel arms they assailed and fought the Romans, who, although utterly astonished by this ferocious resistance of an unarmed people, repelled their assaults and burned their fleet. Deprived of ports, they excavated a new one—and with new ships constructed on the instant, they assaulted and fought the Roman fleet; but their prodigious and long continued efforts were useless. The Consul Scipio Æmylianus, nephew of Scipio the conqueror of Annibal, triumphed over them, and the flames of the burning city illuminated the trophies of the duplicity and bad faith of Rome.

[U. C. 607.] Having in this manner established their power in Africa, free from every care, and becoming now weary of dissimulating with Greece, whom they had heretofore treated as an ally, they began to speak to her in the language of a master. The angry Greeks at first determined to support their independence with arms; but the Pretor Metellus, vanquishing them in every encounter, very soon taught the Achæans that right could avail nothing against force; and this sentence was confirmed

by pillage and desolation, and by the destruction of the noble city of Corinth by the Consul Mummius, who declared Greece a Roman province.

[U. C. 613.] No one longer resisted or could resist the ambition and power of Rome; and with their greatness increased, in an equal proportion, vice and universal corruption—all modesty thrown aside, she no longer hesitated to employ fraud, treachery, and assassination, to promote her further exaltation.

This was proved by the noble Lusitanian Viriathus, who, fighting for the liberties of his country, vanquished the Romans in many battles and granted them peace when it was in his power to have converted their camp into a shamble; and who, afterward falling into an ambuscade, the Consul Servilius Cæpio violated the treaty, assailed him unexpectedly, defeated him, and caused him to be put to death by hired assassins while he slept.

This was proved by unfortunate Numantia, a rich and populous city of Iberia. She saw the peace, twice solemnly sworn with her by the Romans, twice violated. Closely besieged by Scipio Æmylianus, the Numantines, no longer able to tolerate the horrors of famine, committed their city to the flames rather than surrender it; and, reciprocally killing each other, fell extinct in voluntary death upon the smoking ruins of their country.

[U. C. 620.] While, however, the Roman arms, either by valour or fraud, triumphed in every direction, a dark cloud began slowly condensing over the city, which, finally bursting forth in cruel discords and atrocious civil wars, was destined to submerge

liberty and the republic in the blood of her slaughtered citizens.

The intestine dissensions had been a long time suspended in the city by the foreign wars which, continually succeeding each other, had distracted the minds of the citizens and fed the popular pride with ideas of glory and grandeur. But the germ of these dissensions existed, and sooner or later some accidental spark must light them into flames.

The famous Licinian law, established near the close of the fourth century of Rome by Licinius the tribune, in favour of the people against the patricians, had for more than two centuries fallen into disuse. This law established that the lands conquered from the enemies of Rome should be distributed among the citizens; no citizen being allowed to possess more than five hundred acres. In despite of this law, however, the patricians had by little and little usurped all the lands, and the miserable people, in the midst of all the glorious trophies bathed with their sweat and their blood, groaned in a profound and squalid poverty.

Tiberius Gracchus, a son of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, having attained the tribuneship, proposed that the Licinian law should be restored to full force and vigour, and that the senators and patricians should be indemnified for their losses out of the public treasury. Immense was the opposition of these, and immense were the obstacles which they opposed to the execution of the law; but the firmness and perseverance of the tribune, sustained by the popular favour, triumphed over every resist-

ance, and the Licinian law was renewed. The senators and patricians being exasperated, recurred to violence. Seconded by their clients and servants armed with staves, they went up to the capitol where the tribune was haranguing the multitude, and fell upon him, calling him a traitor, and accusing him of attempting to seduce the plebeians that he might make himself a tyrant. In this horrible disturbance Tiberius, overwhelmed with blows, fell and expired; and with him expired more than three hundred citizens who attempted to defend and withdraw him from his mortal peril.

[U. C. 629.] Caius Gracchus, far from being discouraged by so fatal an example, was ambitious of the tribuneship, that he might render himself useful to the people and raise them from their poverty by following the footsteps of his unfortunate brother. Unfortunately for him he obtained the office. Like Tiberius he succeeded in making many laws favourable to the popular interests, and like him perished in a conflict between the nobility and the plebeians, in which more than three thousand of his friends and partisans lost their lives. The Tiber ran tinged with blood to the sea, bearing on its waves the multitude of bodies thrown into it by the ferocious conquerors. The scull of Gracchus, upon which a price had been set by the Consul Opimius, filled with melted lead to render it more heavy, was exchanged with the senate for an equal weight of gold. The laws established by the murdered tribune were abrogated; and, to the end that the people might not oppose their abrogation, but the more easily tolerate it, the

senate deluded them with the promise of fixing a rent upon that portion of land which, by virtue of the Licinian law, the patricians should have restored; which rent was to be distributed among the poor in perpetuum. But this rent was very soon suppressed; nor did the plebeians gain anything by all these lamentable proceedings, but poverty, wounds, and death.

[U. C. 632.] About this time the Romans, not however without much difficulty, suppressed and suffocated in blood a serious revolt of the slaves which broke out in Sicily; they also subjugated Dalmatia, and established a footing in the southern part of Transalpine Gaul, where they founded two colonies, Aquitania and the Narbonensis or Narbonne.

[U. C. 642.] Nothing could better or more clearly demonstrate the total abandonment of virtue and the utter corruption of the Romans, than their conduct towards Jugurtha, who had usurped the kingdom of Numidia after having assassinated Hiempsal and Adherbal, the sovereigns of that country. Corrupting with gold the legates sent into Africa for the purpose of verifying the events, he not only obtained pardon, but was by them declared innocent. The senate were, however, constrained by the murmurs of the people to declare war against him. The Consuls Scaurus and Calpurnius Piso, vanquished by his gifts, granted him a peace, and returned to Rome, laden with gold and ignominy. Jugurtha, cited by the Tribune Memmius to appear before the Roman senate and people to clear himself from the accusations against him, confiding in

his treasures, boldly went there, spreading corruption with a liberal hand among the senators and patricians. Not fearing to add to all his previous crimes a new one of great enormity, he caused the assassination of a nephew of Masinissa, who had in vain fled to Rome as a secure asylum from his snares. The senate, which could have punished him immediately, contented themselves with first ordering him to depart, and then again declared war against him. This war, undertaken by Metellus and continued by Marius, was terminated by Sylla, who possessed himself of Jugurtha by treachery. The barbarian was reconducted to Rome, to grace the triumph of Marius, and, after the ceremony, strangled in the Mamertine prison.

[U. C. 651.] At this time an immense horde of Teutones and of Cimbri descended from the forests of the North, traversed Germany, and poured like a torrent into Gaul, and even into Italy itself. The Romans hastened to check their impetuous career, and drive them back; but being themselves vanquished and routed in many sanguinary conflicts, the Consul Marius was charged with the difficult enterprise. Nor were the hopes which Rome reposed in his valour deceived. He gave them such rebuffs, first in the vicinity of Aix in Provence, and afterward near Vercellæ in Italy, that he destroyed the greater part of the barbarians; few of them ever returning to their native country.

The republic had arrived at the apex of her greatness; but, as the natural and inevitable consequences of riches and luxury, all the vices and evil passions

had invaded it in every part, involving in a complete and ruinous oblivion even the memory of their pristine virtues; and it was evident that in the conflicts between the spirit of liberty and unbridled individual ambition, the republic itself must infallibly perish. Marius, Sylla, and Catiline inflicted the first blows; Cæsar and Pompey wounded it more deeply; and it cost Octavian little trouble to give it the mortal stab.

The first rise of the civil wars, the lamentable picture of which is now to be unfolded, was the rivalship between Marius and Sylla; which, instead of urging them to the performance of great actions for the good of their common country, induced both of them with their own hands to lacerate her bosom, and to drink in torrents her purest blood.

[U. C. 665.] Mithridates, king of Pontus, had from his youth conceived a profound hatred against the Romans. Hardly had he ascended the paternal throne, when he conceived the grand design of driving them from the whole of Asia; and, endowed as he was with exalted talents and intrepid valour, might reasonably have hoped to succeed in the undertaking. With great prudence he collected a formidable force, and fell suddenly upon the Kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, allies of Rome, and took possession of their kingdoms. He caused all the Roman citizens who were tranquilly living in those states in the security of peace, to be murdered in one day, and, with his numerous forces crossing the Ægean sea, invaded Greece and occupied Athens.

From the first movement of the inimical monarch,

Rome had declared war against him, and confided the conducting of it to Sylla. Marius, although old and valetudinary, yet devoured with insatiable ambition, desired the command; and, aided by the audacious Sulpitius, tribune of the people, effected so much by intrigue and violence that Sylla was deprived of his charge, and he himself clothed with it. Unwilling to tolerate this outrage, and resolved on vengeance, Sylla marched with the army to Rome, which he entered, scattering around him slaughter, flames, and death. Marius and Sulpitius saved themselves by flight; but at the desire of Sylla they and their partisans were proscribed by the feeble senate and affrighted people. Sulpitius, falling into the hands of his enemies, was put to death; and his head, brought to Rome, spread terror among the people. Nor did Marius save himself without incredible difficulty and continual perils.

Sylla having departed to combat the public enemy, Marius re-entered Italy, where, forming an army of the many thousands of factious and discontented persons, he placed himself at their head, and marched directly for Rome.

Octavius and Cinna were then consuls; the latter declares in favour of Marius, the former remains firm in the party of Sylla. The two consuls come to blows, and the Forum is inundated with blood; Cinna, discomfited, goes with his satellites to join Marius, and both approaching the city, the wretched theatre of these horrid discords, lay siege to it. The citizens capitulate—they open the gates—Marius and Cinna enter like hungry tigers, shedding

a deluge of blood. Upon the heaped bodies of so many victims, Marius proclaims himself consul for the seventh time, and soon after dies in the feasting and drunkenness in which he attempts to drown his remorse, and even the remembrance of his misdeeds.

[U. C. 677.] Meanwhile, Sylla, proscribed in Rome by the Consuls Cinna and Carbo, has liberated Athens, driven from it the troops of Mithridates, and gained over his army the signal victories of Chæronæa and Orchomenos. Being informed of the sanguinary events in Rome, he granted a peace to the enemy, and, thirsting for vengeance, hastened to Italy. The Consul Norbanus first, then Marius the younger, and then the Samnites who fought for the party of Marius, were successively vanquished by him in hard fought battles. But Sylla contaminated the glory of his triumphs by exercising with a ferocious calmness the most atrocious cruelty, the most horrid proscriptions. In these Catiline distinguished himself, preluding the civil war already meditated by him, with bathing his hands in the blood of his own brother. Marius the younger, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies, committed suicide; Carbo was overtaken in his flight by Pompey, and put to death. Sylla proclaimed himself perpetual dictator, made many wise laws, and after having caused to perish, in his slaughters and proscriptions, more than a hundred thousand citizens, ninety senators, and nearly three thousand patricians, fearing nothing from private hatreds and resentments, courageously resigned the dictatorship,

and proclaimed himself ready to account for his conduct.

Either the terror of his name, or astonishment at his voluntary renunciation of supreme power, or the remembrance of the services he had rendered, saved him; for no one molested him in his retirement, in which he died of a disease occasioned by his dissolute habits.

[U. C. 678.] The two Mariuses were dead; but their party, strong and active, still maintained itself in Iberia, under the direction of the brave and illustrious Sertorius. Many Roman generals having been defeated by him, the senate sent against him Metellus, and then Pompey, who, not being able to conquer him with arms, did not blush at setting a price upon his head. Their infamous design succeeded. Perpenna, his confidant, assassinated him while at a feast. At the death of this great man the party of Marius fell, and Iberia returned under the laws of the republic.

[U. C. 682.] The discipline of the Roman army allowed neither the exchange nor ransom of prisoners; hence it followed that the enemies taken in the wars sustained against so many and such various nations, populated the fields of Italy with slaves, and to them was its cultivation mostly confided. Spartacus, one of these, a Thracian by birth, endowed with great military talents and intrepid courage, ventured to rebel; and placing himself at the head of a band of slaves not less audacious and resolute than himself, they determined to break their chains and reconquer their liberty. Having vanquished a pre-

tor and discomfited two consuls, he marched at once to Rome. But, attacked by Crassus with a strong army, after a long and obstinate conflict in which he was several times on the point of gaining the victory, he was in the end entirely defeated, and perished on the field of battle. Pompey, who then destroyed the relics of the rebel slaves, haughtily appropriated to himself all the honour of the victory, and, becoming consul, knew so well how to manage the people—flattering their tastes and sustaining their interests—that he shortly became their idol and enjoyed unlimited favour.

[U. C. 686.] While the Romans were reciprocally destroying each other in the previously narrated civil wars, innumerable corsairs collected from various parts, and traversing without obstacle the Ægean, the Adriatic, and Mediterranean seas, sacked, burned and devastated the shores, ruined commerce, and spread everywhere desolation and alarm. Pompey, charged with the duty of destroying them, was for that purpose invested with supreme authority. His success corresponded with his hopes; in the short space of four months the corsairs were scattered or destroyed, and the seas restored to their primeval peace, tranquillity, and security.

But the grand enemy of the Romans, Mithridates, still nourished against them an implacable hatred, rendered yet more profound by a remembrance of past defeats. Resolved on vengeance, he had employed the interval of peace to prepare himself for war. Banishing Asiatic luxury from his army, he adopted the arms and discipline of his enemy, and

did not despair of ultimate triumph. Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, having by testament bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, Mithridates resolved to possess himself of it, and invaded it for that purpose. The Consul Cotta, sent against him, was vanquished; but was very soon avenged by Lucullus, who, having destroyed the army of Mithridates under Cyzicum, drove it from Bithynia, and deprived that monarch himself of his empire.

The expelled monarch sought refuge with his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia, and induced him to sustain his cause against the Romans with his treasures and his forces. The latter, crossing the Euphrates, the Tigris, and Mount Taurus, twice defeated the numerous armies of the two kings, and compelled them to seek safety in flight.

But the pride and excessive severity of Lucullus had alienated his soldiers, who mutinied against their general. Mithridates and Tigranes, turning the dissensions in the camp of the enemy to their own advantage, put to rout Triarius, a Roman leader, and again entered upon their possessions.

[U. C. 687.] Lucullus being recalled, Pompey was deputed to the command, and experienced little difficulty in reducing to extremes an enemy previously enfeebled by so many reverses; and, as if unwilling to rely upon arms alone, he had recourse to treachery, exciting Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, to rebel against his unhappy father. Mithridates being besieged in a castle by the rebels put an end to his life. The rebel son obtained from the conquerors the government of the Bosphorus, as a reward

for his parricide; Pontus, and the other conquests in Asia, were united with the republic. Possessing himself afterward of Syria, Pompey entered into Judea, confirmed Ircanus upon the throne of that kingdom, took along with him Aristobulus, who was disputing the crown with Ircanus, and with his army laden with glory and riches returned to Italy.

Catiline, who had commenced his political life as we have seen with the massacre of his own brother, who had been proscribed by Sylla, being burdened with debts and crimes, conceived the design of exterminating the senate and assuming the supreme authority. He collected followers among the dissolute, the malcontent, the villanous, and among those patricians who had been reduced to indigence by their prodigality. Gifts, promises, flattery, everything he employed to increase and strengthen his party. But Cicero, who, notwithstanding his humble birth, had alone by his oratorical talents attained the consulship, watched over the welfare of his country.

[U. C. 690.] Catiline, finding that his plots were discovered, abandoned the city, and at the head of a numerous band of conspirators directed his steps towards Cisalpine Gaul, to excite there a revolt. Some of his accomplices, who remained at Rome, were arrested, convicted, and put to death. Petreius, who by order of the senate pursued Catiline, overtook and attacked him. The conspirators, despairing of pardon, fought like lions; but, overcome and conquered, the major part of them, including Catiline, were destroyed. Public thanks were ren-

dered to Cicero, who was named the father of his country.

Cæsar had already begun to appear upon the horizon of the republic. An inconceivable compound of softness, libertinism, effeminacy, vast talents, intrepidity, and courage, he proceeded cunningly step by step laying the foundation of his future elevation. Needing for the promotion of his own advancement the credit and influence which the splendour of his triumphs gave to Pompey, and his immense riches procured for Crassus, he managed to reconcile himself with these two haughty enemies, and formed with them the first triumvirate. By their means he attained the consular dignity; and by a new and moderate agrarian law which he proposed, (causing a portion of the lands of Campania to be distributed among twenty thousand poor citizens,) he also gained the favour of the plebeians. In vain did Cato and his colleague Bibulus attempt to oppose him; Cæsar, sustained by Pompey and Crassus, triumphed over every obstacle; and his two opponents, covered with mud and followed by the imprecations and missiles of the plebeians, were compelled to abandon to him the Forum and all authority.

Next, to liberate himself from the watchfulness of Cicero, whose eloquence he feared, he excited against him the seditious Tribune Clodius, who, by accusing him of having caused some citizens (the accomplices of Catiline) to be put to death contrary to the laws, compelled him to resort to voluntary exile. He afterward succeeded in removing Cato, not less formidable to him than Cicero, by inducing

the senate to charge him with a mission to dethrone Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, upon the pretext that that island belonged to the republic. He then obtained for himself the quinquennial government of the two Gauls, and departed at once to make the conquest of Transalpine Gaul.

[U. C. 700.] After the departure of Cæsar, Pompey caused Cicero to be recalled from exile; and Crassus, greedy of riches and ambitious of glory, obtained the government of Syria, sacked the temple at Jerusalem, and moving against the Parthians, met his death in their deserts.

Cæsar, although far from Rome, and occupied in subjugating warlike Gaul, did not lose sight of the affairs of the republic, nor spare gold and promises to increase his partisans. Pompey observed with an eye of jealous envy the happy success and increasing glory of his rival; and as his term was approaching its close, privately solicited the senate to recall him. The friends of Cæsar maintained that as Cæsar and Pompey had precisely the same rights, both, if either, should be withdrawn from their respective commands. But Pompey succeeded: he preserved his authority, while Cæsar was recalled.

Cæsar, resolved to sustain himself with arms, and secure in the affections of his brave legions, crossed near Ravenna the fatal Rubicon, the limit of his government, and commenced the civil war. The senate declared him an enemy to the republic, and ordered Pompey to combat him. But Pompey, alarmed by the incredible celerity of the movements of his formidable rival, vilely abandoned Italy with-

out combating, and passed into Greece, where he hoped to collect a considerable force. Cæsar (made at Rome at first dictator, and afterward consul) followed him there, and on the plain of Pharsalia the great contest was decided.

[U. C. 705.] Although the army of Pompey was twice as numerous as that of Cæsar, he was, notwithstanding, entirely vanquished in the encounter. The unhappy general fled into Egypt; but Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to acquire the favour of the conqueror, caused him to be beheaded. Cæsar, without giving a moment of truce to the beaten enemy, followed Pompey into Africa, where he was filled with indignation at beholding the head of his rival, which was presented to him by order of the perfidious monarch. Ptolemy, irritated by the reproofs he received instead of the eulogies and rewards he had expected of Cæsar, first insidiously and afterward openly made war upon him. By this difficulty Cæsar incurred great perils, from which, however, his firmness and his fortune enabled him to escape. Ptolemy lost his life, and the conqueror placed upon the head of the beautiful Cleopatra, of whom he was enamoured, the crown of Egypt.

He then with admirable promptness discomfited Pharnaces, king of the Bosphorus, destroyed the party of Pompey in Iberia and in Africa, (where Cato put an end to his own life that he might not survive the liberties of his country,) and then returned to Rome. There he celebrated four triumphs—for Gaul, for Egypt, for Pharnaces, and for Juba, king of Mauritania; there in adulation excessive honours

were decreed to him; there he was declared perpetual dictator.

[U. C. 709.] But the friends of liberty and the republic seeing in him but a tyrant, conspired against his life. Under the conduct of Brutus and Cassius, the heads of the conspiracy, they assailed him in the open senate, where he fell, pierced with twenty-three wounds, at the feet of Pompey's statue, just when he was upon the point of passing into Asia to punish the Parthians for the defeat and death of Crassus.

The assassination of Cæsar was ineffectual for the re-establishment of the republic and of liberty. These had received their deathblow from the licentiousness and total debasement of the Roman character; and those citizens who yet cherished them were too few in number to entertain the hope of restoring to the people their pristine energy.

In fact, the people looked with horror upon the assassins, who, brandishing their bloody daggers, ran through the streets proclaiming that the tyrant was dead, and calling upon them to rise for liberty. Deceived in their expectations, they took refuge in the capitol; but the popular fury increasing at every moment, and judging themselves no longer secure there, they finally fled from the city with the resolution to save the republic or perish with it.

The young Octavius, a nephew of Julia the sister of Cæsar, and the adopted son of the latter, then presented himself to claim the paternal inheritance. Antony, who was already Cæsar's lieutenant, and aspired to succeed him in authority, looked with jealousy upon Octavius. Seeing, how-

ever, that he was especially favoured by the people, he became reconciled to him. But concord could not long continue between two ambitious men who were both striving for the same object. New strifes sprung up between the rivals—strifes which the sword alone could decide. Cicero declared himself in favour of Octavius, and hurled the thunders of his eloquence against Antony, who was then besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina or Modena, a city of Cisalpine Gaul; and so effective were his labours that he caused Antony to be declared a public enemy. The senate ordered two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, and Octavius, who was therefore named pro-pretor, to combat him. Pansa was vanquished by Antony, and lost his life in the engagement; Hirtius also lost his life, but his troops were victorious. Antony, discomfited, fled into Transalpine Gaul, and joined Lepidus, another of Cæsar's lieutenants. Octavius after the victory, seeing himself neglected and viewed with suspicion by the senators, reconciled himself with Antony, and with him and Lepidus formed that celebrated alliance known by the name of the second triumvirate.

The triumvirate, (omnipotent through the authority of the people, who never refused their suffrages to the strongest,) after having freed themselves of Decimus Brutus by assassination, agreed unceasingly to pursue the murderers of Cæsar, and with them also to destroy the particular enemies of each. They met on a little island in the Lavinus, between Modena and Bologna, divided their power, and with unexampled atrocity proscribed all their enemies, recip-

rocally sacrificing their dearest friends and relatives. Lepidus immolated his brother, and Antony sacrificed his uncle to obtain the life of Cicero. They threatened death to any one who should give asylum to one of the proscribed; they offered rewards to assassins, and promised liberty to the slaves who should murder their masters. Rome, Italy, the provinces, all were inundated with blood to satiate the rage of three monsters who had about them nothing human but the form.

[U. C. 711.] Satisfied with blood, they separated: Lepidus remained in Rome, Antony and Octavius crossed the Adriatic and passed with the army into Macedonia, where Brutus and Cassius had collected their forces. The two armies encountered at Philippi, where Brutus and Cassius being defeated, fell upon their own swords.

After the victory Octavius returned to Rome, where he reflected how he could best rid himself of his imbecile colleague, Lepidus, who was solely indebted to his baseness for his exaltation. Antony transferred himself to Cilicia, where he cited to his tribunal Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to render an account of the equivocal course pursued by her during the war. Secure in the power of her charms, she went boldly: to show herself to the effeminate triumvir and to be justified, was one and the same thing. Irresistibly enchained by the beauty and the arts of this flattering princess, Antony forgot himself —the world.

[U. C. 719.] Not thus Octavius: with a constant view to remaining sole master of the repub-

lic, he freed himself from Lepidus, whose life he disdained to take. Under the pretext that Antony had slighted his wife, Octavia, the sister of Octavius, the latter declared him his enemy, and prepared for war.

Antony also on his side prepared for the contest; and in the waters of Actium and on the neighbouring shores, the East and West was seen to meet in battle, to decide which of the two tyrants should wield the sceptre of the world. Antony was betrayed by his doting love. Cleopatra had wished to follow him with her fleet, to be a witness, as she said, of the battle and the victory; but, frightened by the noise of the battle and the cries of the combatants, she fled, and was followed by her foolish lover, who for her sake renounced the hopes which his courage and the tried valour of his well-skilled legions gave him.

[U. C. 722.] His warriors, indignant at his vile and shameful abandonment of them, submitted to Octavius, who very soon reduced Egypt to a Roman province. Antony destroyed himself in Alexandria; and Cleopatra, after having in vain attempted to seduce with her beauty and her wiles her cold conqueror, in whose breast ambition reigned alone, to avoid the scorn of the triumph, procured death from the sting of an asp.

Thus fell the republic—thus fell Roman liberty—and thus Octavius remained sole master of the world.

SECOND EPOCH.

FROM OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS TO AUGUSTULUS; THE RISE, DECLINE, AND FALL OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE.

The liberties of Rome being submerged in the blood of her citizens, we have henceforward but to witness the wretched spectacle of the deep degradation into which the greatest people that ever swayed the universe were precipitated by their vices and their depravity; affording to every reflecting mind a terrible and decisive proof of the insufficiency of the republican system for a society debauched by luxury, chilled by selfishness, and whose members are ready to make any sacrifice for the attainment of individual wealth and personal aggrandizement. In such evil times, however, some bright examples will shine forth in the midst of universal corruption and subserviency, as the lightning in a dark and tempestuous night flashes an instant in the heavens, only to render more sensible to the eye of the lost traveller the profound obscurity which wraps the earth.

[U. C. 726.] Octavius, to whom the senate in its adulation gave the surname of Augustus, having

vanquished the weak and effeminate Antony, and arrived at Rome, of which he was now the absolute master, hypocritically pretended to believe himself unable to sustain the weight of so much authority, and feigned a wish to abdicate. The senate, with equal duplicity, clearly perceiving the uselessness of taking at his word a man upon whose nod the army depended, and to whom vengeance cost but the waving of his hand, continued the comedy. They prostrated themselves at his feet, and conjured him to retain his power for the benefit of the republic. Apparently unable to resist such warm solicitations, Augustus yielded. Rejecting the odious titles of dictator and king, he assumed that of emperor, or general; and, by governing with much wisdom and moderation, succeeded in gradually consolidating the supreme authority he had usurped. One of the means of which he availed himself to produce this effect, was uniting in his person alone all judicial power, which had before been separate and distributed among many persons. To the imperial dignity, to which was conjoined the supreme command of the army, he united the consular and proconsular authority, the judicial and censorial power, and, finally, the high pontificate, so considerable in those times through the influence of religion. He retained the good-will of the senate, by leaving to it the appearance of much power, and the affections of the people, by granting them a variety of festivals and amusements, and by maintaining abundance in Rome: to them he left the usual election of the magistrates; but regulating the comitia, or popular

assemblies, according to his will, his creatures only, to the exclusion of all others, were chosen. Above all, he studied, with modesty, affability, and benefits, to make them forget the crimes, the atrocious perfidies and the sanguinary proscriptions which had served as the basis of his exaltation.

Augustus confided the government of Rome to his son-in-law Agrippa, and proceeded to visit his Asiatic provinces. Phraates, king of the Parthians, intimidated by his approach, hastened to purchase peace, surrendering the prisoners and Roman standards which had fallen into his hands at the defeat of Crassus. Returned thence to Rome, the senate wished to give him such new proofs of adulation, that Augustus, sick and disgusted, rejected them.

[U. C. 742.] Agrippa, enfeebled by an expedition into Pannonia, now called Hungary, died, leaving two sons, Caius and Lucius, of a very tender age. Augustus, having need of a son-in-law endowed with warlike talents of which he might avail himself on occasion, compelled Tiberius, a son of his consort Livia, to repudiate a wife whom he loved, and espouse his daughter Julia, the widow of Agrippa, and already famous for the dissoluteness of her habits. Tiberius, a crafty dissimulator, obeyed with feigned joy, considering that this shameful marriage would be the foundation of his future grandeur.

In these times many barbarous and warlike people menaced the frontiers of the Roman empire. Tiberius was sent to repel the Dacians, the Pannonians, and the Dalmatians; Drusus, his younger

brother, marched against the Germans, who were preparing to cross the Rhine for the purpose of inundating Gaul. Having discomfited the Germans in four successive campaigns, Drusus died in the midst of his glorious career, at the age of thirty-one years, lamented by all Rome for his many virtues. Tiberius, after having vanquished and humbled the people against whom he had been sent, succeeded his brother in the direction of the Germanic war, and successfully terminated it. The temple of Janus, which had been closed but twice in seven centuries, in token of universal peace, was now by Augustus closed for the third time; the empire enjoyed a profound repose for many years, during which the Saviour of the world was born.

[U. C. 754.] Greatness does not place man above the reach of human afflictions. The death of Drusus, and that of Caius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa, and tenderly loved by Augustus, saddened the days of his old age. But that which most sensibly pierced his heart, was the public and unbridled libertinism of the two Julias, the one his daughter and the other his niece. He sent them both into exile. But while the important and signal victories gained over the Dalmatians and the Pannonians, by his nephew Germanicus, and by Tiberius, whom he had adopted to succeed him in the empire, somewhat tempered his domestic afflictions, the terrible news of the defeat and death of Varro, and the destruction of the Roman legions commanded by him in Germany, immersed him in grief and overwhelmed him with consternation. Tiberius and Germanicus im-

mediately repaired to that province, defeated the brave German, Arminius, and, at least for a time, re-established tranquillity there. Tiberius, leaving Germanicus with eight legions to guard the province, returned to Rome, where he was by Augustus associated as his colleague in the imperial power.

[U. C. 767.] In a short time, however, Tiberius remained sole emperor, in consequence of the death of Augustus, which naturally occurred, or, as some pretend, was dexterously accelerated by his impatient successor.

Whether he was or was not guilty of that crime, Tiberius was such a monster that his contemporaries might well have believed him culpable without doing him injustice.

In fact, full of distrust, and therefore perfidious and cruel, he commenced his reign with the assassination of the young Agrippa. Pretending that it was his desire to abdicate the imperial authority in favour of liberty, he spread a snare for the senators, and their vileness alone hindered them from falling into it. Jealous of the glory acquired in Germany by his brother Germanicus, against the brave and ferocious Arminius, and yet more of the affection which was cherished for him by the legions under his orders, he hastened to recall him. He invented the crime of lese-majesty, or treason, and encouraged with rewards the infamous tribe of spies and informers.

Germanicus promptly obeyed the order for his recall, and was honoured with a magnificent triumphal celebration for his victories. But the more

the people demonstrated their love for him, the more profound became the jealousy and hatred of Tiberius. To remove, therefore, to a distance, and the more easily to rid himself of the innocent object of his hatred, he sent him to suppress some troubles which had sprung up in the remote provinces of Asia, and gave the government of Syria to the haughty Piso, a man disposed to become the instrument of his perfidy and the executor of his designs.

Germanicus quieted with great prudence the disturbance in Asia, and so well understood how to mingle mildness with severity that in a brief period tranquillity was perfectly restored; and he gained for himself, by his justice and affability, the hearts of that grateful people. But grave disputes arose between him and Piso, and this prince shortly after fell sick and died at Antioch, declaring that he had been poisoned by Piso, and conjuring his friends to avenge his death.

[U. C. 772.] The accused was, in fact, recalled to Rome to answer to the accusation, where he defended himself boldly; but, seeing himself abandoned by Tiberius, who, fearing the universal indignation, dared not protect him, he committed suicide.

[U. C. 775.] Germanicus being dead, the cruelty of this emperor went on increasing in a ratio with the constantly increasing vileness of the senators and patricians; and he also added a sombre and melancholy humour which caused him to hate society, and seek total solitude.

His misanthropy was so much flattered by his minister, Sejanus, who had already raised his auda-

cious aspirations to the imperial crown, that, taking an eternal leave of Rome, he retired with a few followers to Capri, which was rendered famous by his fury and libertinism, forbidding any person's coming, as he said, to trouble his repose.

Sejanus, liberated from the presence of the suspicious Tiberius, composed of the pretorian soldiers, of whom he was the prefect, an army ready to second his ambitious designs. With a slow poison he freed himself from Drusus, the son of the emperor, and by means of atrocious calumnies obtained the exile of Agrippina, widow of Germanicus, and her eldest son. By the same means the second son of Agrippina was confined in a prison; the cowardice and baseness of her third son, Caius Caligula, found favour with Tiberius, who then adopted him as his successor.

[U. C. 782.] Having seduced the widow of Drusus, the favourite then demanded her hand of the monarch, who was unconscious of his plans; but this step ruined him, by awaking the suspicions of the emperor. Not daring, however, to declare his distrust of Sejanus, of whose strength he was ignorant, Tiberius had recourse to his usual cunning. He seasoned with soothing language the refusal of his consent to the proposed nuptials, nominated Sejanus consul, and overwhelmed him with caresses to reassure him. Nor did his design fail. While the favourite, deceived by the imperial favours, was tranquilly meditating other means of accomplishing his object, he was suddenly arrested by Macro, the new prefect of the pretorians, and immediately tried,

condemned, and executed. From this period the cruelty of the tyrant had no longer any limits.

[U. C. 786.] At this time was condemned to death, by the governor of Judea, as a rebel against the empire, JESUS CHRIST, the founder of the new religion of the Christians, which in a short time had spread itself over the three parts of the then known world. There are three apparent causes why it was embraced with so much avidity by so many and such different people, in whose minds the respect for the ancient divinities and superstitions had already been much weakened: the purity of the evangelical morality, its profound disdain of the goods of this world, and, finally, the perfect equality of all men before God, which it established.

The poor and the slaves were, therefore, the first to enrol themselves in great numbers under the banner of Christ; the sanctity of the first Christians then added some of the rich to their number; but when the new religion sat with Constantine triumphantly upon the throne, conviction, interest, adulation, all combined to bring the whole people over in crowds, with the exception of a few who were obstinate in their errors, and unwilling on any account to abandon the stupid belief of their fathers.

[U. C. 790.] Meantime Tiberius had ceased to live, having been assassinated by Macro, who proclaimed and caused to be recognised as emperor, Caius Caligula, the youngest son of Germanicus and Agrippina, adopted as we have said by Tiberius. If one monster had descended to the tomb, another

had ascended the throne; but the reign of this last one was sufficiently short.

The circumstance of his being the son of Germanicus, the idol of the Roman people, was very favourable to Caligula. He suppressed for some time the perverseness of his disposition, and at first affected, not virtue, but the appearance of it. But, tired of restraint, he soon gave a free course to vice and the most brutal passions. He shed rivers of blood, and trampled under foot the laws and customs, gratitude, humanity, reason. Adulterous and incestuous, he insisted upon having divine honours paid to him; and, impelled by the delirium of his vicious course, he even made his favourite horse a consul.

A prince so unworthy the throne could not reign long. Chæreas, the tribune of a cohort, conspired against the insane tyrant, and, at the head of his accomplices, assailed and destroyed him in the fourth year of his reign.

[U. C. 794.] To these succeeded the cowardly and imbecile Claudius, a brother of Germanicus, and uncle to Caligula, proclaimed emperor against his will by the pretorians, who found him concealed and trembling with fear, lest he also should fall by the hands of the conspirators. The debased senate recognised him without resistance. The soldiers obtained great recompense, and the unfortunate Chæreas paid with his blood for his bold but inopportune attempt to restore liberty to Rome. What use, indeed, could the Romans have made of it,

already accustomed as they were to bend their necks under the heavy yoke of servitude?

Like Tiberius and Caligula, profiting by good counsels in the commencement of his reign, Claudius originated some useful institutions and suppressed some odious and tyrannical abuses; but yielding, after a short period, to the ascendency of his wife, Messalina, to her and to the dregs of the slaves and freedmen of the court he granted his entire confidence. From that time these became the arbiters of the destiny of the empire: they accumulated immense riches by selling offices and dignities to the highest bidder, abrogating the laws, changing the regulations, and putting everything into a state of confusion.

In a few Roman bosoms yet remained some sparks of the pristine energy; though their number was not sufficient to break the fetters of a country sunk so low in servitude. Hence, from time to time, some brave spirits would enter into conspiracies; but very soon discovered, by the numerous spies and informers who under a thousand forms insinuated themselves everywhere, they yielded up lives which had thenceforth become odious and insupportable.

In such a conspiracy perished, by voluntary deaths, Aria and Pœtus, distinguished personages. Aria courageously exhorted her husband to escape by death the atrocious and ignominious punishment which awaited him. Seeing that he was wavering and irresolute, she planted the dagger in her own breast, and drawing it out, reeking with blood, gave

it to him, saying, "*Take it, Pœtus, it does not hurt much.*" Encouraged by her generous example, he plunged it into his own heart, and they both fell dead together.

[U. C. 796.] Britain had been rather shown than given to the Romans, by Cæsar. Claudius conceived, or, to speak more properly, was made to conceive, the project of subjugating that barbarous and savage country, separated by the ocean from the rest of the world. Plautius landed there with a strong army, and conquered the poor and savage inhabitants, who, to his well-armed and disciplined legions, had nothing to oppose but feeble arms, cries, and undirected courage; and thus Britain was united to the empire by Claudius, who went there to receive its submission in person. Mauritania, in Africa, submitted to the same destiny.

[U. C. 801.] Messalina, meanwhile, immersed in the most infamous debauchery noted by every one except her stupid husband, closed her career by publicly espousing one of her paramours, whom she proposed to place upon the throne of Claudius, as she had already introduced him into his bed: and perhaps she would have succeeded, had it not been for a quarrel between her and some ribald freedmen, formerly ministers to her passions. These gave information to the emperor, who, trembling for his life, confided to them the care of liberating him from his peril. The news of the death of Messalina and her accomplices could hardly reassure him.

Widowed for the third time, he espoused his niece, Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, and widow of

Domitian. If, in the infamy of her habits, this last did not equal Messalina, she certainly left her far behind in the crimes she was urged to commit by her inordinate ambition. The relationship was no obstacle to this ominous hymen : the slavish senate hastened to publish a decree, by which it was permitted to uncles to marry the daughters of their brothers.

To place promptly upon the throne Domitius Nero, her own son, to the exclusion of Britannicus, the son of Claudius, that she might reign in his name, was the sole scope of all the desires, of all the intrigues, and of all the crimes of Agrippina ; and she spared no efforts to accomplish her intent. Exile, poison, or the dagger removed every person who might be able to oppose her designs. By her charms and flatteries she procured from the imbecile monarch the adoption of Nero ; and afterward, fearing that others might attempt to induce him to repair the enormous injustice done to his own son, Britannicus, she liberated herself from her weak husband by opportune poison.

[U. C. 807.] The senate placed the extinct emperor on the list of the gods of Rome, and recognised Nero, whom Burrhus, the general of the pretorians, had already proclaimed as his successor.

Happy for Rome and the Roman Empire, were the first movements of the reign of this prince. While Seneca and Burrhus, his preceptors, continued to direct his steps, his conduct was in every respect most commendable. But, alas ! the happy dawn which announced so clear a day was soon con-

verted into tempestuous night, and the most profound darkness. That disposition which showed itself so docile and so mild as to weep at the condemnation of a criminal, in a short time could make merry while wading in torrents of innocent blood. The base adulation and vicious flatteries of infamous courtiers soon triumphed over the severe precepts of the philosopher and the experienced warrior.

The ambitious Agrippina, indignant at perceiving that she had less influence over her son (whom by so many crimes she had raised to the throne) than the libertines who surrounded him, suffered her anger to exhale in bitter reproaches, and menaced the ingrate with declaring herself in favour of the disinherited Britannicus. This imprudent menace was a sentence of death against that unfortunate youth, who, being by Nero's order poisoned at a banquet, fell lifeless in the presence of Agrippina and the whole court. After this atrocious misdeed, committed with as marvellous cold blood as could have been exhibited by the most hardened in crime, Nero had no longer either prudence or restraint. He gave himself wholly to feasting, drunkenness, and the most infamous libertinism. He scoured the streets of Rome by night, followed by a band of courtiers as dissolute as himself, and wo to the unfortunate citizens who fell in their way. Seneca and Burrhus, sorrowing, saw these disgraceful disorders, but being without power to impede or repress them, lamented them in silence. Nero becoming violently enamoured of the adulterous and beautiful Poppæa, took her from the villanous Otho, who had himself stolen her from

her first husband. Poppæa, ambitious to wear the imperial diadem, solicited Nero to repudiate the beautiful and virtuous Octavia; but Agrippina strongly opposed the unworthy act. In consequence of this the adulteress conceived a violent hatred against her, and with little trouble she induced the enamoured emperor to commit matricide.

[U. C. 812.] The son, wishing to perform secretly a deed which would have filled the people with horror, caused to be constructed, with an infernal ingenuity, a galley which could be decomposed at any given moment, and thus send all who were within it to the bottom of the sea; the few who were in the secret, and were to be the executors in the plot, were to save themselves in another galley. He then reconciled himself with his mother, went to Baiæ, and inviting her to visit him there, sent the treacherous vessel for her conveyance. Agrippina embarked—but the contrivance did not work according to the wishes of her unnatural son. The machinery which was to submerge the boat having but partially obeyed the intentions of the executors, she threw herself into the sea, and swimming courageously, reached the shore. From thence, suppressing in her bosom the just rage which the occasion inspired, she caused Nero to be informed of her shipwreck and escape.

The imperial culprit trembled at this unexpected annunciation; and not imagining that the princess considered this sinister event as a simple accident, feared her vengeance. To be beforehand with her he won over to his will the courtier Seneca and the weak Burrhus, who already trembled for themselves,

and sentence of death was pronounced and executed against the mother. Agrippina was guilty of a thousand crimes, but her own son, for whose sake she had been criminal, was not the proper person to punish her.

The mother, whose presence had slightly restrained Nero, having fallen, the extravagant disorder of his conduct increased. The time which he did not pass in revels and libertinism, he henceforth passed with musicians, mimes, and actors, and at the races, disputing the prize with all who distinguished themselves in those arts. And who would have dared to excel him, or to refuse to him the prize?

[U. C. 814.] About these times the Britons, under the command of their queen, Boadicea, rebelled and caused great losses to the Romans. The discipline of the latter, however, under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, enabled their small number to triumph over the multitude of their brave enemies, whose impetuous courage was not sustained by order and preparation. The queen, after having fought with heroic valour, not being willing to fall alive into the hands of the conquerors nor to survive her defeat, committed suicide.

[U. C. 815.] During this year the last feeble barrier which had yet remained against the fury of the tyrant disappeared—Burrhus died, not without the suspicion of poison. Seneca, foreseeing perhaps the approach of a like fate, abandoned the court. The death of the one, and the removal of the other, were signals for the destruction of the unhappy Octa-

via. That virtuous princess was accused of adultery by the infamous freedman, Anicetas, the assassin of Agrippina, and fell a victim to the ambition of Poppæa. The latter did not long, however, enjoy her usurped diadem; for soon after she also paid with her life for the perilous honour of becoming the wife of a monster, for whom nothing sacred and inviolable existed on earth.

After the death of Octavia, an extensive fire almost entirely destroyed Rome: the universal hatred against Nero caused him to be accused, perhaps unjustly, of having originated it. He, in return, accused the Christians, who, although in obscurity, had considerably multiplied in the capital of the world. An ignorance of their rites and dogmas caused them, by the ignorant multitude, to be confounded with the Jews, with whom they shared the general odium and contempt of the idolaters: consequently the Christians and Jews together, indiscriminately, paid with atrocious punishments for a misdeed which they had not committed. Some were murdered by the fury of the vulgar; others served to feed the flames; others, stripped of their clothing and plastered with bitumen, were miserably burned in the circus, the streets, and the public squares. By the exertions of Nero, Rome rose from her ashes more regular, more beautiful, more splendid. All glittering with gold and gems, rich in vast gardens, lakes, and groves, rose the imperial palace, occupying the tops of the Palatine and Esquiline hills, and the ample valley between them. So many were the hands occupied in these labours, and so great the profusion of gold, that

in a short time scarcely any trace of the devastating flames remained.

[U. C. 818.] The tyrant finally exhausted the patience of his subjects, and many conspired against him; but the secret, although jealously guarded by the conspirators, escaped, and much blood of the guilty and innocent was shed and mingled. The patrician Piso, the freedwoman Epicarides, the centurion Sulpitius, Seneca, Lucan the author of the Pharsalia, the epicurean Petronius, the senators Saranus and Traseus, and innumerable others lost their lives. His valour and virtue became fatal to Corbulo, an illustrious warrior and conqueror of the Parthians: Nero, fearing in him a rival in power, sacrificed him to his jealousy.

[U. C. 820.] The tyrant, not daring to attempt any warlike enterprise whence to acquire military fame, aspired to the acquisition of a different reputation at a cheaper rate and without any risk. Followed by an army of musicians, singers, and dancers, he traversed Greece, disputing the crown at the Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games. Obtaining in fact more than two thousand prizes, he believed himself more renowned and more glorious than all the illustrious men of the republic who had preceded him. Nor did the servile adulation of all orders of people fail him on his return; they emulated each other in baseness, comparing him to Apollo and Hercules.

[U. C. 821.] But this insensate display was the last triumph of Nero. Vindex and Galba, (the former governor of Spain and the latter commander

in Gaul,) weary of obeying an insane and bloody tyrant, raised the standard of revolt. To these was united Virginius, a leader of some legions in Germany. Nero, as cowardly as he was cruel, overwhelmed by this ominous annunciation, remained uncertain and irresolute. Nymphidius, prefect or general of the pretorians, and Tigellinus, the infamous minister to his debaucheries, abandoned and raised against him the pretorian bands, to whom they promised immense gifts in the name of Galba, who had accepted the empire offered to him by Vindex and Virginius. The despairing tyrant concealed himself in the villa of his freedman Phaon, without the Nomentine gate. Being informed that the senate had condemned him to death as a public enemy, he attempted to kill himself, but his courage failed him. Hearing, however, the approach of the soldiers who were to drag him to punishment, and not being able to support the idea of the atrocious outrages that awaited him, he tendered his throat to his freedman, and died at the age of thirty years, leaving a name which alone expresses every species of crime. In him the family of Augustus became extinct.

The order of succession to the throne not being regulated by the laws, as they were up to the time of Caligula, the pretorians arrogated the right of conferring it upon the one who would purchase it of them at the highest price.

Magnificent promises had been made to them by Tigellinus and Nymphidius, in the name of Galba. And it is easy to conceive with how much indigna-

tion these troops were filled when the new emperor, arriving in Rome, far from paying them in all or in part the promised recompense, sharply replied to their demands that "*an emperor selects his soldiers, he does not buy them.*" Great was the error of Galba, for in those times no one could expect to reign long without the friendship of the soldiers.

This prince was at the advanced age of seventy-three when he was called to the throne; of severe habits, inflexible, and economical even to avarice. Having disgusted the military, he did not fear to offend also the people; refusing to them through economy the feasts, spectacles, and largesses which his predecessors had lavished upon them in great profusion. With excessive rigour he punished a conspiracy organized against him; putting many citizens to death without the form of trial. On the other hand he tolerated divers civil officers who employed the most infamous means to enrich themselves. Such imprudences could not prove otherwise than fatal to him.

[U. C. 822.] Galba soon perceived his situation; and, to dissipate the clouds which already began to collect over his head, he sought the aid of the illustrious and virtuous Piso, whom he adopted as his successor. But both of them, unhappily, perished in a sedition of the pretorians: who, allured by his splendid promises, had proclaimed as emperor the dissolute Otho—the same from whom Nero had taken Poppæa.

The senate, always prepared to recognise as sovereign the one pointed out to them by the swords

of the pretorians, recognised even Otho without reluctance; but the German legions dissented from the choice, and proclaimed Vitellius, their captain. Which of these two men were most unworthy of the throne it would be difficult to pronounce. If they failed to compare with Nero in cruelty, they had in their antecedent lives paragoned him in the coarsest vices and in the most base disorders.

The two competitors marched against each other to decide the grand contest with arms. At first success was in favour of Otho, but his total defeat at Bebriacum, between Cremona and Mantua, terminated the contest in favour of Vitellius, who, in consequence of the voluntary death of his rival, remained sole emperor.

In her new sovereign Rome saw a tyrant rendered stupid by his vices, always immersed in wine, in blood, and in debauchery. He very soon fell into universal contempt, which was succeeded by the most lively hatred.

Vespasian, then a general of the Roman army employed against Judea, profited by it. From the most humble commencement he had been, partly by merit and partly by the flexibilty of his disposition, raised first to the dignity of consul, and then to the command of the army in Syria. With the aid of Mutianus, governor of that province, he succeeded in exciting a revolt there, and in causing himself to be proclaimed emperor.

Mutianus and Antonius Primus, with the legions of Mæsia, of Pannonia, and of Dalmatia, which all took the part of Vespasian, moved rapidly towards

Italy; the sound of arms awakened Vitellius, but not until the assailants had arrived at Cremona and besieged it. The troops of Vitellius hastened to succour Cremona; but, defeated in battle and dispersed, they could not prevent the fall of the miserable city, which was pillaged and reduced to ashes.

The conqueror passed the Apennines, meeting with no other obstacles than those of nature and the inclement season of the year. Vitellius, despairing of being able to resist, purchased his life of Flavius Sabinus, the elder brother of Vespasian and prefect of Rome, by abdication. But, at the moment of despoiling himself of the imperial purple, his tears melted the hearts and awakened the sympathies of the inconstant multitude who had detested him but a short time before. They flew to arms in his defence, and, seconded by the Germanic cohorts, assailed Sabinus, who, too weak to defend himself, took refuge in the capitol, where he proposed to repel their assault. Here the Vitellians, marching to the attack with irresistible impetuosity, set fire to the capitol, penetrated through the flames, and destroyed the wretched Sabinus with all his followers.

On receiving this fatal news, Antonius Primus accelerated his march, entered Rome sword in hand, and murdered all who appeared before him; and Vitellius (surprised in the house of a slave where he had concealed himself) fell into the hands of the conqueror.

The wretched man, covered with dirt, with his vestments torn, and tied like a malefactor, became the mock of that same people who a few days be-

fore had defended him; he expired amid their outrages, and his body was ignominiously dragged through the streets and thrown into the Tiber.

[U. C. 823.] After so many monsters, who during the course of nearly seventy years had continued to contaminate the empire, Rome finally saw in Vespasian an emperor worthy of the throne. He united all the finest gifts of a true prince: some have objected to him solely that he exceeded in love of money.

Laborious, modest, and assiduous in the cares of his government, he re-established the ancient laws, subjected the army to its pristine discipline, reformed the senate and restored in part its ancient splendour, caused justice to be rendered with exactness, repressed luxury and licentiousness, and in all he was the first to set the example to all.

The Batavi and the Gauls revolted during this interval, but being assailed by a respectable force which had been sent against them, after some resistance they submitted.

Longer, more serious, and much more sanguinary was the Jewish war, commenced by Vespasian under Nero, and terminated this year by Titus, his son. The Hebrews, after their return from the celebrated Babylonish captivity, were governed theocratically, and had no other prince than their pontiff, or high priest. Subjected by Pompey to the dominion of the Romans, they continued to govern themselves with their own princes and laws. The triumvir, Antony, imposed upon them a foreign king, the cruel Herod, who was confirmed in his reign by Au-

gustus, when victory had declared him sole emperor. But the same Augustus, indignant against Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod, took from him the crown, drove him into exile, and reduced Judea to a Roman province. The Jews, badly interpreting their prophets, flattered themselves that the promised and expected Messiah was to be a warlike and conquering king, who would not only free them from the servitude imposed upon them by the Romans, but, with the force of arms subjugating all nations to the sceptre of Judah, would render the Hebrews the most important people of the universe.

Full of these fallacious hopes, and closing their eyes to the light which shone around them, they were unwilling to recognise in the poor and humble carpenter of Nazareth the promised Saviour, and were always in expectation of the one who was to realize their chimeras.

In such a frame of mind, it is not to be wondered at that an ignorant, fanatical, and superstitious people should accept for the Messiah the first audacious impostor who might present himself in that character.

Many in fact appeared who usurped that holy name, and many seditions and rebellions against the Romans followed. Nero ordered Vespasian to subdue that restless and turbulent people; he obeyed, and Jerusalem alone remained unconquered when he became emperor. Departing at once for Rome, he left the Jewish war to the direction of his son Titus.

Titus, induced by the mildness and humanity of

his disposition, attempted every means to induce that raging and insensate people to submit, but in vain.

He then had recourse to force, and after a long and obstinate siege entered by assault that unfortunate city, inundated it with blood, and burned and destroyed it to its foundations: thus fulfilling the well known prophecy of Daniel.*

[U. C. 832.] After a glorious and happy reign, Vespasian died, leaving to posterity the fame of an excellent emperor. He was the first of the Cæsars who died a natural death; all his predecessors having perished by the sword, by poison, or other violence.

He was succeeded by Titus, and this name alone expresses the most complete eulogium of the new monarch. He was the delight of Rome and of the subject world; but too short was the life of this best of princes! of too short duration was so good a reign! Poisoned, as was generally supposed, by the monster who was to succeed him, his brother Domitian, he deceased in the second year of his reign. The principal occurrence during his reign was the frightful eruption of Vesuvius, which spread around desolation, terror, and death. Two entire cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii, disappeared under the torrents of burning lava, and the neighbouring mountains were covered with feruginous cinders. The naturalist Pliny, who ventured too near, to observe the terrible phenomenon, sacrificed his life to his curiosity.

* Chapter ix.

To the good Titus succeeded his brother Domitian, who united in himself all the folly and atrocity of Nero and Caligula. Vain as he was cowardly, he affected all the military titles. He caused himself to be adored as a god, while he plunged into the most infamous debaucheries. He encouraged pimps and spies with great rewards, and lavished the highest offices and most honourable dignities of the empire upon vile informers. He immolated numerous victims for the imaginary crime of lese-majesty or treason. An enemy to every science, he held all scientific and literary men in profound odium, and drove the philosophers into exile. He ferociously pursued both Christians and Jews, no distinction being made between them in those times by the idolaters.

The brave Agricola distinguished himself about this time by the successful wars sustained by him against the Britons, and the Caledonians now known as the Scotch. He strengthened the Roman conquests in that distant island, and rendered his government acceptable to the people. Jealous of so much glory, Domitian recalled him; and Agricola had need of all his modesty and circumspection to avoid the destiny which, under the imbecile tyrant, always menaced merit and virtue.

[U. C. 849.] But if the power to make others tremble is given to tyrants, they in turn are often obliged to tremble for themselves; and whoever gorges himself with slaughter, must expect soon or late to satiate the hatred of others with his own blood.

This was experienced by Domitian, who fell a victim to a conspiracy contrived in his own palace. His wife found a list of persons marked for proscription, written by the hand of her dreaded husband, where with terror she read her own name among the first on the list. She immediately communicated the intelligence to the victims designated, and it was soon concluded to prevent the butchery. The conspirators, being by the empress privately introduced into the secret apartments, suddenly assailed and despatched him. With the consent of the senate, Nerva was then proclaimed emperor.

Nerva was an old man, venerable for his age and virtues; but, either from age or natural disposition, weak and timid. He governed with wisdom and mildness, but his weakness was the cause of grave disorders. This was plainly perceived by Nerva himself, during a sedition of the pretorians, which he could not quiet without much difficulty and peril. Forming then the project of seeking for himself and for the empire a firm and safe support, he found it in Trajan, whom he adopted as his colleague and successor. After this most important act, Nerva died of a violent excess of choler against an offending senator.

[U. C. 851.] Trajan united in himself the rarest gifts and most brilliant qualities. Brave in war, sober, modest, an enemy of luxury and ostentation, he governed with so much wisdom and moderation that the Romans gave him the name of Optimus.

The Dacians, profiting by the weakness of the

two preceding emperors, had rendered themselves formidable under the conduct of their king, Decebalus, and had constrained the vile Domitian to purchase with a tribute an ignominious peace. Trajan, wishing to wipe this blot from the Roman name, marched against them, defeated them in battle, and granted them peace on humiliating conditions.

The barbarians soon violated the peace and commenced the war anew. The emperor then determined to conquer Dacia, threw his celebrated bridge across the Istrus, and defeated Decebalus, (who, to avoid falling into the hands of his conquerer, put an end to his own life,) and reduced the conquered country to a Roman province. It comprehended the territories now known under the names of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The noble military column in his honour, erected in Rome after his death, where it yet exists entire, shows in its spiral sculpture the events of this celebrated expedition.

Thence turning his conquering arms against Cosroe, king of the Parthians, he conquered Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, advancing even to the remote Indian Ocean; but, assailed in the midst of his victories by a grievous infirmity, he intrusted Adrian with the command of the army and retraced his steps towards Rome. He failed, however, to arrive there, and died in Cilicia, after a glorious reign of seventeen years.

[U. C. 870.] Trajan did not directly persecute the Christians, but ordered that they should be punished when accused and convicted of Christianism. A strange decision this for so excellent and moder-

ate a prince, since, if the Christians were offenders, why hinder the search for them? and if innocent, why punish them?

Adrian, akin to the defunct monarch, and favoured by the management of his widow, Plotina, made the army believe that he had been by Trajan adopted as his successor; and in this way found little difficulty in procuring himself to be proclaimed emperor. He then excused himself to the senate for not having waited for its suffrages, on the ground that he had been constrained to yield to the wishes of the legions. The senate feigned belief, and confirmed an election they had not the power to annul.

The virtue of Adrian was more apparent than sincere, as appeared from divers traits of useless and excessive severity, while he boasted of his clemency and justice; nevertheless he cannot be denied the praise of having governed the empire wisely, of having maintained the discipline of the army, and of having promulgated excellent laws and regulations.

Two defects have been attributed to him by his cotemporaries; a base jealously towards those who were distinguished for literary merit, and a great irregularity in his habits. His excessive friendship for Antinous, to whom he dedicated temples, idols, and incense, has also been noted.

One of his measures which proved most advantageous to so vast an empire, was a visit to all the provinces of which it was composed. Examining himself the most minute details, he reformed a thousand abuses which had been introduced or en-

couraged by the governors. He erected in Britain a strong wall from the mouth of the Tyne to the Gulf of Solway, and behind this bulwark secured that part of the Roman confines against the incursions of the Picts and the Caledonians. Considerable portions of this wall remain to this day.

[U. C. 887.] About this time the Hebrews revolted again, under the guidance of Barcochebas, who audaciously assumed the title of the expected Messiah. Their inflexible obstinacy had obliterated from their minds the fatal remembrance of the evils suffered by the nation in the last war with Titus. With more fury than ever they flew to arms, and so obstinate was the resistance they opposed to the Romans, that the brave Julius Severus, who had been sent against them by Adrian, could not entirely conquer and subjugate them until after three murderous campaigns, in which nearly six hundred thousand Jews were exterminated. The rest of the nation, sold or dispersed over the whole surface of the empire, were prohibited, under pain of death, from setting a foot in Jerusalem, which was rebuilt by order of the emperor, under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*.

[U. C. 891.] Adrian, after having adopted the wise and virtuous Antoninus as his successor, died of a lingering illness, and was, like his predecessor, ranked among the gods.

In the vicinity of Rome, there yet remains a vast space covered with heaps of majestic ruins, and known to the moderns under the name of Villa Adriana. In this place that prince caused to be

erected numerous and magnificent edifices, similar to those which he had seen in Egypt, Greece, and Asia. This proud collection, which was first stripped and pillaged by the emperors who succeeded Adrian, and afterward ruined by time, and still more by the destroying hands of the barbarians who invaded Italy, yet offers to the eye considerable remains of baths, theatres, temples, libraries, &c., from which its original magnificence may be inferred.

Antoninus, having become emperor, offered to his cotemporaries the rare spectacle of the purest philosophy upon the throne. He reigned twenty-two years, and they were twenty-two years of happiness for the empire. When he died, the event was accompanied by universal lamentation and weeping—a funeral eulogium deserved by very few princes. In such veneration was his name held, that for more than a century the emperors who succeeded him gloried in bearing it; but by how few of them was it merited!

[U. C. 913.] Nerva and Trajan having restored to the senate some portion of its ancient dignity, the army for some time ceased to dispose of the imperial sceptre. That august assembly now conferred it upon Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, both adopted by Antoninus. But how vast was the difference between the two princes! The second was as vicious and dissolute as the first was wise and virtuous.

Marcus Aurelius, hoping that the cares of war would tend to withdraw his colleague from his shameful libertinism, sent him to repress the Par-

thians, who had invaded Armenia, and to vindicate the honour of the Roman arms, which had suffered defeat from these warlike people. Lucius Verus departed, not like a brave man to fight for his country, but to procure for himself new pleasures and pastimes. His lieutenants conquered for him; and he, loaded with pompous titles and unmerited honours, returned to Rome as much a coward as before, and plunged deeper than ever into his accustomed drunkenness and debauchery.

While Marcus Aurelius caused himself to be every day more and more beloved for the admirable mildness and justice of his reign, the Marcomanni, and other barbarous people near the Istrus, menaced the frontiers of the empire. The emperor marched against them, and very prudently took with him Verus, whom he did not wish to leave at the head of the government, for fear of the disorder which his conduct might occasion in the state. The death of the latter, however, relieved him from all apprehensions on that score.

[U. C. 923.] The war against the Marcomanni lasted five years; during which the emperor gained, among others, a victory celebrated for a singular occurrence. The soldiers were dying of thirst, and the entire plain, an arid desert for an indefinite distance, offered no prospect of water. Suddenly the sky was obscured by dense clouds, and, amid the flashing lightning and rolling thunder, a great quantity of rain fell upon the Roman camp, while immense hailstones, driven by an impetuous wind, were precipitated upon the camp of the enemy.

The Christians and infidels both agreed in considering this event as a miracle; the first attributing it to the prayers of an entire legion of Christians who fought in the Roman army, and the second to the favour of Jove, the protecting deity of Rome. In fact, on the military column erected by the emperor, upon which the memorable events of the war are sculptured, may be seen the figure of that divinity in the act of granting rain to the supplicating Romans.

These barbarians, having been conquered by force of arms and superstitious terror, asked and obtained of the conqueror, not only peace, but also some establishments in the provinces they had been disposed to invade.

[U. C. 926.] After the happy termination of this war came the rebellion of Avidius Cassius, who caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Syria. It was, however, an unfortunate event for him; since his officers, repenting of the support they had given him in his audacious undertaking, murdered him three months after. The family and accomplices of the rebel obtained, through the clemency of the emperor, full and entire pardon.

The only stain upon the character of this good prince, was the excessive weakness which he evinced in peacefully suffering the base irregularities of his consort Faustina. Instead of repudiating her, or constraining her to prudent conduct, he lavished trusts and dignities upon the accomplices of her infamous wantonness, and honoured her with the title, till then unknown, of *Mother of the Camps and Armies*. Nor did he show less weakness towards

his son Commodus, presumptive heir to the empire. Blinded by his paternal love, he left in him a monster for a successor, who was destined to renew the unhappy days of Nero and Caligula.

[U. C. 933.] Marcus Aurelius died in Pannonia, where he had been called by the war against the Marcomanni. Excepting his excessive weakness, which resulted so fatally to the empire, he was a model for princes.

He promulgated no edict against the Christians, although it is a fact that under his reign they suffered violent persecutions in Gaul. But, on the one side, the fanaticism of the pagan priests, offended at seeing the number of the adorers of their gods, of the victims, and the amount of their own revenues, every day decreasing; and on the other, the ardent zeal of the followers of the new religion, which openly attacked the dominant belief, certainly caused most of the troubles.

Under the mild reigns of five excellent princes, the empire had enjoyed a respite from the horrors of insensate tyranny, when the sceptre came into the hands of Commodus; this one, from the very commencement, equalled in infamy and wickedness all who had in a similar career preceded him upon the throne. As cowardly as he was vicious, he purchased peace of the barbarians so often defeated by his father, and did not blush, after such an inglorious proceeding, to enter Rome with a triumphal celebration.

The citizens were no longer unaccustomed to the sight of crowned monsters: a conspiracy was,

however, excited against him, at the head of which was his own sister Lucilla. But the imprudence of a young senator, who, before the concerted signal, unsheathed his dagger, crying, "*This is what the senate sends thee*," caused the miscarriage of the attempt, and cost the lives of a great number of persons, who, with Lucilla, were executed. The emperor, struck by the words which had escaped the young senator, conceived a violent hatred against that body, which he demonstrated on every occasion.

Such was the alarm with which this plot inspired the tyrant, that upon the slightest pretexts and upon the most frivolous accusations, he caused the most distinguished persons to be put to death, pardoning neither favourites, kindred, nor friends—if, indeed, tyrants can have friends.

Uniting, then, the excess of libertinism with that of folly, he assumed the name and vestments of Hercules, and killed wild beasts with arrows in the amphitheatre. Ambitious, henceforth, of the glory of a brave gladiator, and armed with a well-tempered cuirass and a keen-edged sword, he descended into the arena, and boasted of victories gained over adversaries who were compelled to fight him naked, and with dull and blunted weapons.

[U. C. 945.] He did not, however, escape his merited destiny, but fell, unhonoured, under the blows of a prostitute and a gladiator.

Letus, the prefect of the pretorians, one of those who had conspired against Commodus, caused the wise old Pertinax to be proclaimed emperor by that band of soldiers. He, to enable himself to pay the

largesses promised to the soldiers by Letus, sold whatever the insensate luxury of Commodus had collected of the most precious and costly. During the period of three months it was seen that in Pertinax the Antonines were revived. He regulated the laws, the finances, and the military discipline. But his excellent reign continued only three months. The pretorians, (who in more recent times have had their imitators in the janizaries of Constantinople, and in the strelitz of Moscow,) accustomed to the license which they enjoyed under the tyrant, and unwilling to submit to the discipline to which the wise Pertinax subjected them, rebelled against him; and, running to the palace, immolated him to their seditious fury. The empire being then put up for sale, was bought, at the price of twenty-five thousand sesterces for each soldier, by Didius Julianus, who was able to promise a greater sum than his competitor Sulpician.

The people and the senate, indignant at the infamous contract, and refusing to acknowledge the venal sovereign, proclaimed Niger, the governor of Syria, and invited him to return to Italy to take the reins of empire. The troops he commanded also proclaimed, and the eastern provinces recognised him.

If Niger had marched at once to Rome, he would have met with little resistance on the part of Didius Julianus, and probably would have been acknowledged by the whole empire. But, whatever might have been the cause of his detention in Asia, he lost much most precious time, during which a much

more dangerous competitor than Didius arose against him.

Septimus Severus, general of the legions of Pannonia, an ambitious, crafty, and most active man, being informed of the tragic end of Pertinax, purchased of his troops the empire, and was proclaimed. Behold, then, three emperors at once; one in Asia, another in Pannonia, and a third in Rome.

Septimus Severus lost no time, but marched directly to the capital, where he arrived without encountering any obstacle whatever. The pretorians, after having obtained from Didius all he had promised, basely abandoned him, and accepted with avidity the new promises of Severus. The miserable Didius falling into the power of the senate, they caused him to be decapitated.

[U. C. 946.] The pretorians very soon had cause to repent their vile conduct and the faith they had put in the promises of Severus. At the head of a powerful army, he was soon recognised by the senate and people. Immediately after which he surrounded the seditious pretorians with his troops, condemned to death all those who had taken any part in the assassination of Pertinax, and expelled the remainder from the service, banishing them to a distance from Rome. He then selected fifty thousand of his best soldiers, and formed a new pretorian guard.

As he had broken his faith with the pretorians, so did he also with the senate; causing, contrary to his promise given, a great number of its members to be put to death. He then re-established order in all

the branches of the administration, and transferred himself to Asia, to combat there his competitor Niger.

[U. C. 947.] Niger, routed in three battles by the lieutenant of Severus, lost with his life his right to the empire; and Byzantium, which adhered to his party, taken by assault by Severus, or, as some say, surrendered at discretion, was entirely destroyed.

The emperor, an adept at dissimulation, fearing that in his absence Albinus, governor of Britain, might rise to dispute with him the sceptre, had him named augustus, and in this manner anticipated his attempt. Having freed himself from his rival Niger, he next set about getting rid of his colleague Albinus. He therefore took from him the title of augustus, deprived him of all the prerogatives which were attached to it, and irritated him with every species of outrage, in order to obtain a pretence for oppressing him. Albinus, persuaded by the conduct of the emperor that he was determined on his destruction, attempted to save himself by a desperate act: he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the legions under his command, and started for Italy. Fortune did not favour his audacious resolution. Encountering Severus between Lyons and Trevoux in Gaul, and being entirely defeated after a bloody contest, he killed himself in order to avoid falling alive into the power of his implacable rival.

Terrible were the consequences of this fatal catastrophe to the friends and accomplices of Albinus. The papers of the latter falling into the hands of Severus, and being by him minutely examined, more

than forty senators were sacrificed to the imperial vengeance. If this prince alienated from himself the hearts of the senators and patricians by his cruelty, he took good care to conciliate the people and the soldiers with largesses, festivals, and spectacles. And so secure of them did he deem himself, that he did not fear to leave Rome to suppress the Parthians and to put an end to the incursions of the wandering Arabs upon the territory of the empire.

Crafty and distrustful as the emperor was, Plautianus was enabled, by his dexterity and adulation, to govern him to the extent that he induced him to consent to the marriage of his daughter with Caracalla, the eldest son of the emperor, and already declared augustus.

The favourite, proud of his imperial alliance, abused his power, as is common with favourites, and rendered himself odious to the multitude. The hatred of his son-in-law, however, exceeded that of all others, as he had been constrained by paternal authority to espouse the damsel. Resolved to destroy his father-in-law, he caused him to be denounced to the emperor as guilty of treason. While the unhappy Plautianus was attempting to justify himself, Caracalla threw himself furiously upon him, disarmed him, and caused him to be murdered by the guards in the imperial presence.

[U. C. 961.] Severus had another son named Geta; both of these young princes were equally immersed in vice and libertinism—moreover an irreconcilable hatred had existed between them from infancy, which time, instead of destroying, had con-

tributed to increase and fortify. All the efforts of Severus to correct his sons and inspire them with fraternal sentiments proving useless, he took them with him to Britain on an expedition against the Caledonians; these, passing the wall which separated them from the Roman provinces, infested them with frequent incursions. Little glorious, and above all little useful was a war against barbarians who, protected by rugged and inhospitable mountains, combated in wandering and scattered bands, and did as much injury in flying as in resisting. The whole advantage gained with the blood of fifty thousand brave warriors who perished there, was a small tract of territory which he sought to protect against the attacks of the Caledonians by a wall erected between the gulfs of Forth and Clyde.

Caracalla attempted during this expedition to murder his father. Discovered in the act, Severus gave him some paternal reproofs and pardoned him. But nothing could move his tiger's heart; he soon after contrived a conspiracy to dethrone him. This also being discovered, the emperor punished his accomplices and spared the principal culprit.

[U. C. 964.] Severus, already valetudinary, not being able to support the grief of having two such evil-disposed sons, died at York, in the sixtieth year of his age.

The celebrated Tertullian wrote, under this emperor, his famous apology for the Christians, then severely persecuted by virtue of ancient edicts promulgated against them by the predecessors of Severus. "We replenish," said he, "your cities,

your villages, the senate, the army; we leave nothing to you but your theatres and your temples." This passage leaves no doubt of the immense progress which Christianity had made at this period.

Caracalla and Geta both succeeded their deceased father; and in both increased from day to day the rancour that consumed them. The court was divided between the two brothers; each laid in wait for the other; each guarded against the other; until at length, both becoming tired of living in continual fear and peril, they agreed to divide the empire between them, so that Caracalla should reign in the west and Geta in the east. Julia, their mother, opposed this division, which would have shaken the empire to its foundations; and so earnestly laboured with prayers and tears, that she obtained an apparent reconciliation between them.

Brief, however, was her joy; for how could the impious man, who did not fear to grasp the parricidal dagger to slay with his own hand him to whom he owed his existence, fear to kill a hated brother? He pursued him one morning, sword in hand, through the apartments of the palace, and caused his guards to murder him, even in the arms of his miserable mother, who vainly attempted to defend him. Nor did Geta perish alone. The tyrant destroyed an incredible number of persons accused or suspected of friendship or partiality for that prince.

As for the rest, Caracalla reigned in blood and vice, like Nero and Commodus, and like them also perished; being murdered by Macrinus, prefect of the pretorians, who, gaining the pretorian legions

by his liberality, induced them to proclaim him emperor.

[U. C. 971.] Macrinus, by birth and habits unworthy of the high post to which he had aspired, fell in a short time; precipitated by a conspiracy planned by the ambitious Mesa, sister of the Empress Julia, who, gaining the legions as usual with gold, caused her nephew, Heliogabalus, a priest of the sun, to be proclaimed and recognised as emperor. The abandoned Macrinus, falling into the power of his rival, was put to death.

What shall we say of this new prince, who ascended the throne at the age of fourteen years? He was a monster. The mind revolts at repeating the narration of the same crimes, the same horrors, the same cruelty. To distinguish himself from those who had preceded him in vice and folly, he created a senate of women; and, clothed in a woman's habiliments, as a woman he espoused a slave. He also rendered himself equally ridiculous by the superstitions of his priesthood; and finally fell into such contempt, that, after an infamous reign of four years, the pretorians determined to bear with him no longer, and slew him. He was the thirteenth emperor who died a violent death.

[U. C. 975.] The troops, the senate, and the people, recognised as the successor of Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus, aged sixteen years, who had been adopted by his cousin Heliogabalus.

Judiciously guided by his mother Mammea, and by his grandmother Mesa, he reigned with much applause, his virtue being the more conspicuous from

the contrast it afforded to the vices of his predecessors.

A great revolution which in these times broke out in the East, claimed the attention of the young prince, and compelled him to visit those distant provinces. The Parthians were the only people in that quarter who had not yielded their necks to the Roman yoke. Often vanquished, but more often victors, they had preserved their independence of the masters of the world.

Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, ambitious of raising again the throne of Cyrus, made war upon the Parthians; he defeated in three bloody battles their king, Artabanus, (who lost his life in the third,) and made himself the master of that vast kingdom; the Parthians, losing their formidable name, became Persians.

Proud of such great success, and of the possession of so much power, he claimed of the Romans the restitution of Mesopotamia, of Syria, and of all Asia Minor as far as the shores of the Ægean, as provinces formerly conquered by Cyrus, and belonging to the kingdom of Persia.

[U. C. 985.] Alexander Severus replied with arms; and completely routing the barbarian in a pitched battle, taught him to moderate the ambition by which he was devoured.

He then directed his conquering legions towards rebellious Germany; but in that, for him, unfortunate expedition, he was assassinated by Maximin, a military tribune, who caused himself to be proclaimed by the troops, whom he had seduced, as successor.

The Christians, under this good prince, enjoyed a happy toleration, which contributed to increase their numbers beyond measure, in every part of the empire. In every direction Christian temples rose upon the ruins of the waning idolatry. Christianity bursting from its original obscurity, the mists of paganism were everywhere dispelled by the triumphant light of the Gospel, and every indication presaged its approaching victory over the ridiculous superstitions of expiring paganism.

[U. C. 988.] Maximin, of barbarous origin and manners, having ascended the throne, exercised the supreme power with a fury equal to that with which it had been acquired. His violence and his insatiable avarice very soon caused conspiracies against him, and these gave an extended career to his cruelty. He vanquished the Germans, the Dacians, and the Sarmatians, and these victories increased immeasurably the sanguinary ferociousness of his character. Africa revolted against him, and named as emperors the two Gordiani, father and son, both most worthy of the throne; but vanquished by the governor of Numidia, who held that country for Maximin, the young Gordianus was slain in the conflict, and the father, despairing of his fate, plunged a dagger into his own heart.

The senate, being no longer willing to acknowledge Maximin, gave to the empire as his successors, Balbinus and Maximus, to whom the people added Gordianus III., who was only thirteen years of age. On the reception of this unpleasant intelligence, the tyrant, foaming with rage, marched rapidly for Italy,

and laid siege to Aquileia, which refused him a passage. But the pretorians, weary of his yoke, and assisted by his son, put him to death.

[U. C. 991.] The new emperors, Maximus and Balbinus, made it their study by wise government to restore the affairs of the empire, which had been disturbed by so many revolutions. The pretorians, however, irritated at being compelled to obey princes whom they had not themselves proclaimed, destroyed the strongly excited and well-founded hopes of the nation by suddenly and barbarously murdering them. They then brought into their camp the young cæsar and proclaimed him emperor, under the name of Gordianus III. He selected, for a minister to guide his inexperienced steps in the difficult business of governing men, the wise and virtuous Misitheus, whose daughter he espoused, and to whom he confided the important office of prefect of the pretorians. With him he then at once departed for the East, where Sapor, heir of the throne and of the vast ambitious designs of Artaxerxes, had renewed his pretensions and the war. On his arrival he routed Sapor in battle, drove him beyond the frontier, and retook Nisibis, the principal city of Mesopotamia, which had been previously occupied by the Persians. But irreparable to the young emperor was the loss of Misitheus, who died of dysentery during the course of these expeditions. Gordianus substituted for him the traitor Philip, an Arab by descent, who intrigued so successfully with the army that the legions compelled the prince to take him for colleague and tutor. Philip, having gained his purpose, rid himself of

Gordianus by poison, and was proclaimed sole emperor. Making peace with the Persian king, he then returned to Rome, and flattered himself that he should long enjoy the fruits of his infamous treason; but he deceived himself. The legions of Pannonia and Mesia having named Decius, their general, as emperor, he marched to Italy without delay to assail Philip. The latter prepared for his defence, but was vanquished and slain with his son, in the battle fought by the two competitors near Verona.

It has been supposed by some ecclesiastical authors, we know not upon what authority, that this usurper was a Christian; whether he was so or not, we do not well perceive what advantage so pure and holy a cause could derive from having such a wretch numbered among its members.

[U. C. 1002.] Decius rendered himself celebrated for the fierce persecution caused by his edicts against the Christian religion. He reigned only two years, and perished in an expedition against the Goths, who had passed the Danube.

Gallus and Æmilianus disputed the empire, and were both murdered by their own soldiers.

To these succeeded Valerian, an honest man and good magistrate, but a feeble emperor. He gained some advantages over the barbarians, who had already begun to make themselves heard from every portion of the borders of the empire. He then transferred himself to Mesopotamia, to repress the haughty Persian monarch, Sapor, and having lost a battle was compelled to beg for peace. Sapor requested a personal interview, to which he repaired in good faith

and without precaution. The barbarian abused his confidence and treacherously made him a captive. The unfortunate prince terminated his life in slavery.

[U. C. 1013.] Gallienus, son of Valerian, was emperor after him. An unnatural son, he made no efforts to liberate his father, and plunged into vice and libertinism while pestilence, scarcity, rebellion, the incursions of the barbarians, and a contempt for all law and authority were throwing the affairs of the nation into the utmost confusion.

At this time shone in the East, by his great valour, the celebrated Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, head of a tribe of Saracens, and husband of the celebrated Zenobia. Attached to the empire, he rendered himself formidable to the Persians and spread the terror of his name as far as Ctesiphon, the capital of their monarchy. Gallienus created him augustus, in reward for his services. Falling a victim to some domestic conspiracy, he was succeeded by Zenobia, a woman of manly courage, who assumed the pompous title of Queen of the East, and exercised in every respect the imperial authority.

[U. C. 1021.] About this time Aureolus caused himself to be proclaimed in Italy; Tetricus imitated him in Gaul; and Claudius, assassinating Gallienus in Illyria, proclaimed himself in his stead.

Aureolus enjoyed the usurped diadem but a short time. Vanquished by a braver and more fortunate usurper, he perished in the conflict. The conqueror, Claudius, was preparing himself to make war upon Tetricus, that he might unite the scattered members of the empire under his own authority, when a for-

midable irruption of the Goths called him into Macedonia. He defeated the barbarians, and pursuing them to the Danube, where in their alarm they had sought refuge, there gained over them one of the most memorable victories which has ever illustrated the military annals of the Roman empire.

Claudius survived his noble triumph but a short time; a pestilence cut him off in the third year of his reign, and deprived Rome of a great prince who had, by his virtue and talents, cancelled in part the stain of his usurpation.

[U. C. 1023.] The senate, the people, and the army, chose for his successor Aurelianus, who was rendered most worthy of the throne by his military talents and great general intelligence. He repelled the barbarians who had inundated upper Italy; enlarged the circuit of Rome, and surrounded it with strong walls; vanquished the illustrious Zenobia and made her prisoner; and with the submission of Tetricus reunited under his dominion all the provinces of the empire.

Returning to Rome, he there celebrated his triumphs with extraordinary magnificence. Zenobia and Tetricus appeared among the captives. Two blemishes, however, obscured in part the splendour of so glorious an enterprise—the death of Longinus, the illustrious, learned, and faithful counsellor of Zenobia, and the ruin of the superb city of Palmyra. Even to this day are admired the sumptuous and majestic ruins, which enable the astonished traveller to conjecture what must have been its pristine magnificence.

[U. C. 1028.] He governed with wisdom: in Gaul he founded Dijon and Orleans; (*Aurelianum;*) he abandoned Dacia, a conquest of Trajan, and transported the inhabitants into Mesia, on this side the Danube, which he established as the limit and barrier of the empire. He then prepared to avenge upon Sapor, the Persian monarch, the injuries committed by him upon the Romans: but in the midst of his military preparations he was assassinated in Thrace.

Such and so great was the discipline established by Aurelian in the army, that after his death no one of its leaders dared to aspire to the empire; on the contrary, marvellous fact! they sent messengers to the senate, praying them to proceed without delay to the election of a new emperor. The timid senators remitted the election to the legions, and the legions again sent it back to the senate. The latter then nominated the senator Tacitus, a wise and virtuous old man, who accepted with great regret the perilous dignity. This selection was fully justified by events. But a short time, however, did this good prince survive the justice which was rendered to his merits. He proceeded to Asia to repel an incursion of barbarians, in which he succeeded; but his strength, enfeebled by age, not being sufficient to support the fatigues of the camp, he sunk under them.

This time the legions did not show so much complaisance towards the senate. Without consulting it, they proclaimed Probus, a man endowed with rare merit and vast talents. He submitted his elec-

tion to the senate, who approved of it without reserve.

He immediately proceeded to Gaul, which was inundated by a deluge of Germans, Franks, Burgundians, and Vandals, who were devastating it with fire and sword. He drove them beyond the Rhine, compelled them to beg for peace, and granted it to them on hard conditions.

[U. C. 1035.] Passing successively from Europe to Asia, and from Asia to Europe, he drove back the invaders in every place, and re-established order and tranquillity everywhere. To destroy the spirit of sedition among the soldiers, he occupied them in time of peace in draining marshes, cutting canals, and constructing commodious roads. But their discontent was not long in bursting forth, and this best of emperors was the unhappy victim of it.

The seditious soldiers invested Carus, prefect of the pretorians, with the imperial purple. This man had conceived vast and noble designs; but time to carry them into effect failed him. He conquered the Sarmatians and Persians, and perished, assassinated by Aprus, prefect of the guards.

A similar destiny awaited his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, who jointly succeeded him. He who had murdered the father, murdered also the son Numerianus; and Carinus, a victim to his own baseness, was murdered by an officer whose wife he had dishonoured.

[U. C. 1037.] Diocletian, elected emperor by the army, put to death the assassin Aprus with his own hand, and took the reins of government. The

empire was, in the times of which we speak, assailed and straitened on every side by clouds of barbarians, who threatened its invasion and destruction. To oppose a front to these imminent and multiplied perils, Diocletian associated with himself Maximianus, a rough and ferocious man, but a brave general. While the latter repulsed the Germans, the emperor in person humbled the pride of the Persians.

[U. C. 1045.] The perils every day increasing, the two emperors nominated as cæsars, Constantius-Clorus and Galerius; the one a grandchild of the emperor Claudius, the other of obscure origin, and noted only for his military qualities. To Constantius-Clorus was confided the custody of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Galerius had the defence of Illyria, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece; Maximianus prepared himself to guard the west, and Diocletian the east. In this way all the invasions were easily suppressed, and the various usurpers who ventured to rise up here and there, were promptly punished. Among these, Carausius, or Carosus, merits particular mention. He had fought against the Caledonians, and was declared emperor in Britain. His expedition against the Caledonians is celebrated in the songs of Ossian.

[U. C. 1050.] Diocletian reigned with great prudence, moderation, and success; and, if we may give faith to the acts of his government, and to profane writers, he was a model for princes. But not so has he been painted by the Christian writers, who represent him as a sanguinary tyrant, and a monster of dissoluteness and debauchery. It is fair to sup-

pose that these invectives are less an emanation from a principle of justice, than the effect of religious zeal and resentment for the severe persecutions which the Christians suffered under him; persecutions moved and instigated principally by Galerius, during which rivers of blood were shed. Tired of greatness, and of the vexations inseparable from supreme power, Diocletian abdicated the imperial throne, and induced Maximianus to imitate his example. He retired to Salona, in Dalmatia, his native country, and there lived and died in philosophic tranquillity.

Constantius-Clorus and Galerius, to preserve the same form of government, having themselves become emperors, nominated two new cæsars, Severus and Maximianus, a nephew of Galerius. They then divided the empire, that they might govern separately, and not in common, as had Diocletian and Maximianus. Galerius remained master of Asia, Illyria, Thrace, Italy, and Africa; the good Constantius contented himself with the remainder, and applied himself to the promotion of the happiness of his subjects; while, on the other hand, those of Galerius were oppressed with the most cruel tyranny.

Constantine, afterward called the great, having fled from Nicomedia, where Diocletian had brought him as a hostage for the faith of Constantius, his father, happily avoided the snares of Galerius, who wished his destruction, and arrived at York in time to see his father there before his death. Constantius named him his successor, and the army recognised him with acclamations.

[U. C. 1059.] This prince was about thirty-two years of age when his father died. Beautiful and majestic in his personal appearance, he united genius, courage, activity and prudence, with ambition. Galerius feared him much; and well he might, since Constantine was so superior to him in mind and person. Maximianus resumed the purple which he had laid aside with Diocletian, and endeavoured to induce the latter to do the same; but vain were all his persuasions. Fearing, however, the enmity of Galerius, he united himself with Constantine, and gave him Fausta his daughter to wife.

Maxentius, a son of Maximianus, was at the same time made emperor at Rome. Galerius sent against him the cæsar Severus, by him named augustus; Maxentius seduced from him his soldiers, and constrained him to commit suicide. Galerius, being very desirous to regain Italy, marched in person, followed by a formidable army, against the usurper. The latter employed the same arts as before, and gained over so large a portion of his army, that Galerius was compelled to escape from his astute enemy by flight.

Maximianus, although he had resumed the imperial purple, still found himself without empire. Devoured by ambition, he proceeded to Rome, to despoil his usurping son by yet another usurpation. The latter, however, drove him from Rome and Italy. Repairing then in his rage to Constantine, he endeavoured to induce that prince to join him against his son. But Constantine was not born to be the instrument of the insensate designs of the

unquiet old man; and the latter, wishing at all events to reign, planned many snares to deprive his son-in-law of his throne and life. Always discovered, always disappointed in his culpable hopes, he was finally constrained by Constantine to put an end to his own life.

Galerius, after having named Licinius as augustus, in the place of Severus, who had lost his life in his unfortunate expedition against Maxentius, died, detested by the Christians, whom he ferociously persecuted during the whole of his reign, and applauded by the idolaters, whose worship and interests he ardently protected.

[U. C. 1063.] The Roman empire found itself divided, at this time, between four ambitious rivals, each one of whom aspired to the possession of exclusive empire; viz., Constantine, Licinius, Maximin, and Maxentius.

The latter reigned, or rather tyrannised, over Italy and Africa. Insatiable in his love of gold, he did not hesitate to employ the most atrocious vexations to accumulate it in his treasury; a cruel persecutor of the Christians, they hated him as much as they favoured Constantine; plunged in every sort of vice, he renewed the remembrance of Tiberius and Domitian. Against him Constantine determined to carry the war, for the purpose of liberating Africa and Italy from his cruel oppression; and, above all, for the purpose of uniting those fine provinces to his portion of the empire. Making, therefore, the necessary preparations, and with a sufficient force as-

suring Gaul against the attempts of Licinius, he departed with his army for Italy.

[U. C. 1064.] At this epoch is fixed by historians the celebrated and sudden conversion of Constantine to Christianity. Some attribute this conversion to motives purely political. The number of Christians being then immense, it was thought that the ambitious emperor, who meditated nothing less than the conquest of the entire empire, considered this a most potent means of accomplishing his designs. Others pretend that his conversion was occasioned by the appearance of a flaming cross in the air.

Perhaps more conformable to the truth was the opinion that a supernatural internal light opened the eyes of his mind, and enabled him to perceive the emptiness and absurdity of the idolatrous superstitions, not less than the truth, purity, and holiness of a religion, which, far from being suppressed by the immense power directed against it, had attained gigantic dimensions, triumphing over the oppressions, bloodshed, and death by which its persecutors attempted to destroy it in its infancy.

[U. C. 1065.] Constantine crossed the Alps, twice routed the enemy, and possessed himself of Upper Italy. Maxentius gathered the relics of his army, and re-enforcing it with all the troops he had in Rome, encamped a few miles from that metropolis, to await his rival and try his fortune in a third conflict. Constantine did not permit him to wait long; furious and bloody was the battle; Maxentius was routed for the third time; while flying for refuge to

the city, he was thrown from the bridge Milvius by the multitude, and falling into the Tiber, which flowed underneath, was drowned in its waves.

Rome, delivered from the insufferable tyrant, received its liberator with great joy, and celebrated his triumph in a thousand modes. There yet exists entire a most noble triumphal arch, erected in his honour by the senate and people of Rome on this occasion; and the words written on the marble, *by inspiration of the Divinity* (INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS), appended to the annunciation of the victory, are worthy of notice, because they seem to make allusion to the flaming cross seen, in reality or in a dream, by the conqueror.

This prince caused himself to be beloved for his firmness and mildness. He promulgated wise laws, and severely punished spies and informers; he did not persecute the idolaters, but accorded to them full liberty of conscience; he demonstrated his liberality towards the new religion by building and richly endowing many churches. He made a gift to the pontiff bishop of Rome and to his successors, of the vast palace of the Laterans, a part of which he converted into a cathedral, and dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Ecclesiastical property was by him exempted from every species of tribute.

While this emperor subjected to his victorious sceptre the provinces over which Maxentius had tyrannised, Maximin, excited by an equal ambition, but with less fortune, made war upon Licinius; and passing the Bosphorus, the limit which separated the dominions of the two princes, besieged Heraclea.

Licinius flew to its defence, and defeating Maximin in battle, followed him to Tarsus; here Maximin, despairing of escaping from the hands of the conqueror, poisoned himself, and thus liberated his subjects from a cruel tyranny, and the Christians from a bloody persecution.

Two emperors only now remained; Licinius in the east, and Constantine in the west. They were friends; and the marriage of one with the sister of the other seemed to have added new and stronger ties. But the insatiable thirst for dominion knows neither ties nor confines, and the throne of the world was too narrow for the occupation of two. They came then to open war; Licinius was obliged to yield, and to cede to the conqueror Greece, Macedonia, Pannonia, Dacia, Illyria, and a part of Mesia.

Licinius, irritated by these grave losses, vented his rage upon the Christians, whom he accused, not perhaps without reason, of being better disposed towards Constantine than himself. The groans of the martyrs gave to Constantine a plausible pretext for renewing the war against Licinius. But this was of short duration.

[U. C. 1076.] Licinius, defeated in many battles, his fleet in the Ægean destroyed by Crispus, the son of Constantine, and he himself defeated in Nicomedia, finally fell into the power of his fortunate competitor; treated honourably at first, he was soon after deprived of his life. Thus Constantine remained sole master and peaceful possessor of the entire empire.

The Christians, as we have said, had multiplied in-

finitely, and more especially after the conversion of this monarch, whose example drew after him all who were ambitious of his favour. While the religion remained always holy, its followers became deeply corrupted and much degenerated from the simplicity and purity of its first professors. But the gravest and deepest wounds which rent the bosom of the Church, and caused the flow of as much Christian blood as had the most ferocious persecutions, came from those who filled, by their insensate controversies and disputes, all Christendom with dissensions, schisms, and heresies. Constantine would have acted with more sense, if, limiting himself to the maintenance of order and peace, he had abandoned to the churches the decision upon spiritual things. Far from this, he made an affair of state of every ecclesiastical discussion; and thus, instead of calming these unhappy disputes, caused them to shoot forth more ardently and more obstinately. He convoked divers councils, and abusively mingling temporal with spiritual authority, presided over them himself. Among these, the Council of Nice, in which the doctrine of Arius was condemned, was perhaps the most celebrated.

[U. C. 1079.] The emperor having returned to Rome, after a long absence, committed there two acts of such cruelty as entirely to alienate from him the hearts of the citizens, who could no longer look upon him but with horror. He caused his eldest son, Crispus, a prince not less amiable than brave, to be condemned and executed without examination, solely upon the unproved accusation of Fausta, his

stepmother, of having proposed to her an incest; and then caused Fausta herself to be executed, upon a no better proved accusation of adultery with a slave. These two victims, and many others with them, being hurried to the tomb for unknown, and, perhaps, insufficient causes, a clamour was raised against him, and the people even ventured to insult him. Constantine, offended, removed himself permanently from that city, and abhorred the religion he had embraced.

[U. C. 1082.] Having retired to Byzantium, he was struck with the felicitous situation, geographical and political, of that city, and resolved to establish there the seat of his empire. He enlarged and enriched it with superb edifices, and with largesses and privileges collected inhabitants there from every part; he then imposed upon it his name, calling it Constantinople. The new capital gave the first shock to ancient Rome, since it drew thence great numbers of its principal and richest families, who flocked in crowds to take up their residence where the imperial court was established.

The emperor was excessively fond of luxury; he was always crowned with a diadem of inestimable value, and his vestments sparkled with gems; his court became in a short time entirely Asiatic in its pomp.

Near the close of his reign he gained some victories over the Goths and Sarmatians, but committed the great error of admitting them to the rights of citizenship, and military service in the legions. This was to nourish serpents, who would be sure, sooner

or later, to turn their murderous fangs against the imprudent hand that had fed them.

Finally, after having severely persecuted Arianism, he turned about and openly protected it. He recalled Arius and his followers from exile, and admitted their profession of faith.

Falling sick at Nicomedia, during an expedition against the Persian monarch Sapor, he received baptism from an Arian priest, to whom he intrusted his last will, and died at the age of sixty-three years, and in the thirtieth year of his reign.

[U. C. 1090.] Constantine, by his testament, divided the empire between his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, and two nephews, Delmatius and Stannibulianus: these last, however, did not reign, being murdered by the soldiers, perhaps at the instigation of Constantius. The three first parted the empire between them; but the eldest, having declared war against Constans, fell into an ambush prepared by the latter, and lost his life.

Of the five emperors, two only remained; Constans in the west, and Constantius in the east. The first protected Christianity and the Catholics; the which, however, did not prevent him from contaminating himself with the grossest vices.

[U. C. 1103.] The freedman Magnentius, commander of two legions at Autun in Gaul, conspired against Constans, caused him to be assassinated, while he sought to save himself in Spain, and proclaimed himself emperor.

Constantius, in the east, had declared himself in favour of the Arians. The whole empire was di-

vided by inextricable discussions respecting religion, the principal scope of which was to unite all minds with an infrangible tie of fraternal love. Council after council was convoked, but unfortunately remedying nothing.

While this prince was absorbed in theological discussions, the Persians, guided by their king, Sapor II., defeated his army at Singara, infested his provinces with impunity, and pressed with ferocious siege Nisibis, capital of Mesôpotamia, which was indebted for its safety but to the valour of its Christian inhabitants, encouraged by the exhortations of their bishop.

The usurper Magnentius enjoyed, meanwhile, the western empire, which he governed tyrannically. Vetranio, an ancient officer, caused himself to be proclaimed augustus in Pannonia; abandoned, however, by the same troops that had sustained him in the revolt, he renounced the purple to save his life, and died tranquilly in the asylum which Constantius had granted him.

The emperor, free from this embarrassment, seriously meditated assaulting Magnentius, and punishing him for his rebellion; arrived, however, at Sirmium, he forgot the affair of the war, and convoked instead a new council.

Not so Magnentius; wholly occupied with his ambitious projects, he marched with speed against Constantius, who, intimidated, sent messengers to him with propositions for peace. The tyrant, believing that he held the victory in his hands, rejected them; but, totally defeated in the memorable battle

of Murtia, upon the Drava, and afterward abandoned by the relics of his army, drunk with fury, and mad with desperation, he murdered friends, relatives, and even his own mother, and then upon their bloody bodies struck himself to the heart.

[U. C. 1105.] It appears that the fall of Magnentius, in liberating Constantius from every trouble, also broke entirely the curb which had restrained the impetus of his passions. He became suspicious, distrustful, and sanguinary: the prince disappeared to give place to the tyrant. Constantly-increasing perils, however, pressing the empire on every side, he was compelled to nominate his cousin Julian, called the apostate, as cæsar, that he might assist him in watching for the preservation of the government.

Vast were the talents of this prince; vast his acquirements, and his habits pure; but, seduced by mysterious and fantastic doctrines, his genius remained disfigured by the most stupid superstitions. A profound dissimulator, the better to conceal his decided propensity to idolatry, and to obviate the distrust of Constantius, he masked his views with the ecclesiastical vestments, and lived in retirement and solitude.

[U. C. 1108.] Julian was in his twenty-third year. The emperor gave him his sister Helena to wife, and sent him as governor into Gaul, surrounded by counsellors, or spies, charged with the duty of watching his conduct.

The crafty prince guided himself with wonderful circumspection; by affability, justice, and his appa-

rent virtue, he rendered himself dear to the people and most popular with the soldiers; with the latter he obtained a great reputation by the valour and military talents he displayed in repulsing the barbarians who had crossed the Rhine and inundated the province confided to him.

[U. C. 1113.] The successes of the young cæsar did not fail to awaken the suspicions and jealousy of Constantius. The emperor, seeing in him henceforth but a rival, the more formidable in proportion to the brilliancy of his worth, ordered him to depart from Gaul with his army, to march against the Persians, who had renewed the war.

He feigned a willingness to obey; but at the annunciation of his intended departure, the legions rose, compelled him to assume the imperial ensigns, and proclaimed him emperor.

The great step taken, Julian determined to sustain it, and immediately marched against Constantius. Many provinces embraced his party, being tired of the tyranny of the emperor, who was warring against the Persians when the news of the progress of his dreaded rival came to him. Concluding a truce with the enemy, he immediately turned his arms against Julian. But an ardent fever arrested him in Cilicia, where, having received baptism, he expired at the age of forty-four years, detested by Catholics, Arians, and idolaters; each of whom on divers occasions he had cruelly persecuted.

Constantius being dead, the whole empire recognised Julian by acclamation; and he, by reforming abuses, suppressing informers, discountenancing vile

adulation, and promulgating wise regulations, merited the universal applause he received.

But he soon dropped the veil of hypocrisy under which he had before concealed his profound antipathy to Christianity, abjured the faith in which he was born, and meditated its total overthrow.

He did not think it expedient, however, to assail it with open and sanguinary persecutions; on the one hand he hated tyranny, and on the other he knew that the obnoxious religion would derive new strength and new triumphs from punishments and martyrdoms. With a more perverse policy, therefore, he formed his plan for its destruction.

With extreme exactness, and with the fervour of enthusiasm, he performed the pagan ceremonies in the quality of high priest; he craftily introduced into paganism whatever there was most pure and most sublime in the evangelical morality; he diffused most plentifully his ridicule of Christianity; with great dexterity he profited by the lamentable dissensions which then lacerated the Church, and did all in his power to foment them. He forbid instruction to the faithful, closed their schools, and finally conferred upon the idolaters all the dignities and favours of which he had despoiled the Christians. By these well-devised measures, he did much more damage to the Christian religion than he would have done if he had employed against it the rigours of Maximin, and the atrocious persecutions of Galerius.

[U. C. 1115.] The war which Julian carried on against Christianity, did not divert him from the intention of avenging upon the Persians the shame

which they had inflicted upon the Roman name by their late victories. Marching with a powerful army, he crossed the Tigris and defeated them; but, betrayed by treacherous guides, and assailed in his retreat, he fell mortally wounded, while fighting in the foremost ranks, and shortly after expired.

It is said, that to deprive Christianity of one of its fundamental proofs, viz., the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews, he attempted to rebuild it, and to collect in Palestine all the Hebrews scattered throughout his vast empire; and it is also added, that horrible earthquakes, and flames issuing from the bowels of the earth, always destroyed the sacrilegious labour, and rendered vain all the efforts prompted by insensate hatred.

[U. C. 1116.] The army, in consternation at its irreparable loss, realizing the peril of its situation, immediately proclaimed as emperor Jovian, captain of the domestic guard, a man who united great vices with many virtues. The new augustus hastened to conclude a peace, but could obtain it only by the shameful sacrifice of five entire provinces. This was the commencement of the dissolution of the Roman empire.

Governing upon principles diametrically opposed to those of his predecessor, he favoured the cause of Christianity with all his power, and applied himself with great wisdom to the healing of the deep wounds which theological disputes had caused in the Church.

Short, nevertheless, was a reign which had inspired the highest hopes. Suffocated by the deadly

vapour of charcoal, he was found dead in his bed in Galatia, while on his way to Constantinople and thence to Rome. He deceased in the thirty-third year of his age.

[U. C. 1117.] For the deceased Jovian the army substituted Valentinian, a man of obscure origin, but much reputed in arms. He selected for a colleague his brother Valens; and dividing the empire, with a view to the more easy resistance of the barbarian invasions which menaced it on every side, ceded to him the east, retaining for himself the west, and fixing the seat of his empire at Milan.

This prince governed the western provinces with much prudence and moderation; he compelled the clergy, who had been exempted by Constantius, to bear their share of the public burdens; and, leaving to the bishops the exclusive management of ecclesiastical matters, he deprived them of all influence over secular affairs; he annulled the donations, legacies, and testaments of the women in favour of the clergy; and, quieting the religious discords, established profound peace in the Church.

[U. C. 1119.] This peace was, however, disturbed in Rome, by the deplorable ambition with which the supreme pontiffs began to be inspired for the honours and ease which in these times already surrounded that dignity. The Deacon Orsinus disputed with arms the pontifical seat against Damasus, canonically elected pontiff; a cathedral church, which became the field of battle, was profaned and contaminated with blood. This was the first of the schisms which for so many years desolated the

Church; this was the prelude to all those evils which human pride has excited in her bosom.

Valentinian gained many signal advantages over the Goths, the Saxons, the Germans, and the Quadi; but he was often more indebted to perfidy and treachery than to the valour of his legions for them. In an excess of choler against a deputation from the last mentioned people, he burst a bloodvessel, and this accident occasioned his death.

Gratianus, his son, succeeded him at the age of seventeen years. This prince was religious, but weak; and his weakness and inexperience caused him to commit much injustice. He associated with himself as emperor his brother Valentinian II., a youth but four years of age.

Under the reign of Gratianus, innumerable hordes of barbarians issued from the frozen forests of Scandinavia; others also came even from the remote plains of Asiatic Tartary, differing in name, appearance, and customs; they were all, however, equally ferocious. Breathing nothing but war and devastation, they inundated the whole eastern empire; Valens perished in a battle unhappily fought by him against these invaders near Adrianople.

[U. C. 1132.] Gratianus transferred himself to Constantinople, and, to put a stop to such frightful ruin, nominated as emperor of the east the brave Theodosius, whose father he had caused to be murdered. Returning thence into Italy, he entirely abandoned himself to the perhaps more religious than prudent counsels of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and became excessive in his zeal, intolerance,

and persecution. By his violence he irritated the idolaters, who had become too weak to dispute the dominion of the Christians, but were yet too strong to be destroyed by force. Maximus, a general in Britain, taking advantage of the ferment of their minds, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his legions, crossed the channel, and marched through Gaul to meet his adversary. The two armies encountered near Paris; there Gratianus, betrayed by his followers, was assassinated, while, dressed in disguise, he was seeking to escape by flight.

Valentinian II. had not yet attained the age of twelve years. Incapable of governing himself, his mother, Justina, directed the empire for him. She concluded a peace with the usurper, who obtained Spain, Gaul, and Britain for his share of the empire. Theodosius also acknowledged him.

[U. C. 1141.] Concord endured between them but a short time. Maximus aspired to the possession of all the provinces which formed the western empire; and under the pretext that the young Valentinian professed Arianism and oppressed the Catholics, this zealous Catholic usurper crossed the Alps to despoil him of his remaining provinces.

Alarmed by the approaching storm, Valentinian sought refuge with Theodosius, who, taking up arms in his defence, twice routed Maximus in battle, took him prisoner, and beheaded him.

[U. C. 1142.] The moderate conqueror rendered to Valentinian his empire, and sojourning three years in Italy, governed it wisely in his name.

Theodosius was the emperor who gave idolatry

its most terrible shock. He caused its temples everywhere to be either demolished or closed; prohibited, under most rigorous penalties, public and private sacrifices; and, transported by his zeal, appointed inquisitors to search out heretics and dissidents.

These severe decrees were not, however, tranquilly borne by those whom they injured. The two inimical fanaticisms rose up against each other, occasioning deplorable excesses, and extending the sanguinary contest into many provinces.

[U. C. 1145.] Valentinian II. had just reached his twentieth year when he was murdered by Arbogastes, a Frank by birth, and a brave commander. He caused Eugenius to be proclaimed by the troops as augustus, in whose name he himself proposed to govern. Theodosius took up arms against him, and entering Italy, completely defeated him near Aquileia. Arbogastes committed suicide to avoid the vengeance of the conqueror; Eugenius, being taken prisoner, lost his head.

[U. C. 1148.] This was the last enterprise of Theodosius; he died in this year, after having divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius; assigning the east to the former, and the west to the latter.

Honorius was a very weak prince; but his reign being sustained by the military reputation of Stilicho, his general, the barbarians for a long time feared to assail him. Finally Alaric, King of the Visigoths, taking advantage of a moment when the troops of the emperor were combating the Germans in Rhethia,

penetrated into Italy, occupied the territories of the Venetians and Ligurians, and from that distance filled Rome with terror and consternation.

Abandoning Milan, the emperor sought refuge in the stronger city of Ravenna, where he established the imperial court; while Alaric, not vanquished by Stilicho, but deluded by his crafty management, drunk with anger and greedy of vengeance, saw himself compelled to retire with the remains of his army to the centre of Illyria.

[U. C. 1158.] To the invasion of Alaric succeeded that of immense hordes of Goths, conducted by Radagaisus; these, however, nearly all found a tomb in the country they invaded, being totally defeated by Stilicho near Florence, which city they had besieged.

In these times the irruption of the barbarians was similar to that of a threatening torrent swollen by the melting snows; the disheartened agriculturists attempt in vain to oppose a barrier to the destroying flood; if they succeed in stopping it for a moment in one direction, the victorious torrent opens for itself a liberal passage in a hundred other places at the same time.

Scarcely, in fact, did Italy breathe after the invasion of Radagaisus, before a cloud of Alans, Vandals, Suevi, Germans, Huns, and Burgundians crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and inundated all Gaul from that river to the Pyrenees; and Italy itself was for the second time assailed by Alaric the Visigoth.

Stilicho was no longer alive, having been put to death by Honorius, who was suspicious that he

might secretly conspire to usurp the imperial crown. Rome, strictly besieged, purchased a peace of the barbarian at the price of five thousand livres of gold, and thirty thousand of silver, and gave him as hostages the sons of the principal citizens.

[U. C. 1162.] Unable to defend the extremities of the empire, Honorius abandoned Britain and a part of Gaul to themselves; and these nations thus regained their liberty, after having borne the Roman yoke for four centuries. Spain was also almost entirely lost to her, the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi having divided it between them; nor did there remain to Honorius but the country on this side of the Hebrus.

Thus fell to pieces the Western Roman Empire, like a colossal edifice from which the iron hand of time daily detaches a stone which rolls rumbling to its feet.

The Romans had now no longer either breasts, arms, or steel to oppose to their enemies, and yet they failed in that good faith necessary for the preservation of peace. Possessing only the remembrance of their ancient valour, they foolishly violated their treaty with Alaric, who was waiting in Etruria for its fulfilment. Justly indignant, that barbarian entered Rome sword in hand, and the unfortunate city saw herself inundated with blood and slaughter, and abandoned to flame and pillage for the fault of her faithless rulers.

Alaric, avenged, moved towards Sicily for the purpose of devastating it; but, surprised by a mortal

illness, he died at Cosenza, and left the command of his troops to his cousin Ataulph.

In this year Arcadius, Emperor of the East, also died, and was succeeded by his son Theodosius II.

[U. C. 1176.] The death of the feeble Honorius would have been fortunate for the country, if it had been possible to repair the disasters of his reign. But this empire rapidly approached the period of its total ruin, and, in the then existing universal disorder, there was no mortal arm which had power to impede or retard it. A great portion of her finest provinces lost; the possession of the remainder insecure; military discipline entirely destroyed; every virtue extinct, and every vice triumphant; she thenceforth emitted but some transient rays of light like an expiring torch, and then fell the victim of thousands of enemies, who disputed among themselves the possession of her yet palpitating members.

John, the secretary of the deceased Honorius, usurped for a short time the vacant throne. Theodosius II., Emperor of the East, proclaimed Valentinian III. as Emperor of the West, and sent him into Italy with a military force. This prince, aged only five years, was the son of one of the generals of Honorius, named Constantius, whose consort was Placidia, a sister of Honorius, and widow of Ataulph. John, after a reign of two years, was taken and beheaded.

[U. C. 1184.] Aëtius, the celebrated general of the young Valentinian, indignant at the calumnies spread against him by his enemies, and at the disgrace which had been the consequence, called the

Vandals of Spain into Africa to avenge himself. They, accepting the invitation, crossed the Strait Gaditanus, and in a short time invaded and conquered the whole of it. The Empress Placidia, however, having ascertained his innocence, and restored him to favour, Aëtius repented of his too hasty vengeance. But the evil was irreparable; neither counsels nor arms could withdraw from the hands of the barbarians that vast province, in which the empire now possessed but Cirtha and Carthage.

[U. C. 1191.] Having lost Africa in the south, the empire also soon after lost in the north another portion of Gaul, which was subdued by the Franks, under the conduct of their king, Clodio. In this manner the western empire went on from day to day, growing smaller and smaller; and was now reduced to Italy and the miserable remnants of the bordering provinces, which she feebly disputed with the surrounding depredators.

[U. C. 1194.] Meanwhile the most formidable of conquerors hastened towards wretched Europe, from the depths of Asia, followed by an innumerable throng of Tartars, known by the name of Huns. Passing the Danube, and taking with him the people subdued on his route, Attila sacked Mesia entirely and penetrated as far as Thrace, leaving behind him a miserable and uninterrupted line of smoking ruins and heaps of dead bodies.

[U. C. 1200.] The feeble Theodosius II., ill qualified to restrain so destructive a torrent, after having lost Dacia and Illyria, purchased peace of the barbarian with gold, and submitted to an annual

tribute. Affected with profound sorrow at the view of such irreparable evils, he died, leaving behind him no other fame than that of being an excellent copyist.

[U. C. 1203.] Attila, meanwhile, pursuing the course of his triumphs, accompanied by half a million of armed men of a hundred different nations, invaded Gaul, devastating it between the Rhine, the Seine, the Marne, and the Moselle. Valentinian III. sent the brave Aëtius into the desolated province, to attempt the application of some remedy for so fatal a disaster. He arrived at Arles with a small army, entirely unequal to such an undertaking; but Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, Merovio, King of the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Amoricæ, influenced by fears for their common safety, united themselves with Aëtius. The Roman leader, thus re-enforced, hastened his movement towards Attila, and, overtaking him near Chalons, in Champagne, came to an engagement with him. Most furious was the contest, and for a long time the victory was uncertain; it finally declared in favour of Aëtius, the barbarians being defeated and dispersed with immense slaughter. It was, perhaps, in the power of Aëtius to destroy the barbarians, and to obtain possession of Attila himself; but he feared his allies; he doubted whether the entire destruction of the Huns, freeing them from every fear, would not render them too formidable to the weakened and vacillating empire. Hence, he facilitated the means of flight to Attila, who, foaming with rage, went to hide his

shame in Pannonia, and prepare himself for vengeance.

[U. C. 1205.] Nor were the effects long in following his menaces; in this year Attila again marched against affrighted Italy. Valentinian abandoned Ravenna, and shut himself up in Rome, placing his hopes more upon his negotiations than upon his arms; the Visigoths and the Franks, who had before so powerfully seconded the Romans in Gaul, refused this time to succour them.

Attila devoted Augusta to the flames, and, notwithstanding the resistance of Aëtius, penetrated into Italy; he took and reduced to ashes the potent Aquileia, and spread slaughter, pillage, and desolation through all Venetia and Liguria.

A multitude of the miserable inhabitants of Venetia, flying from the barbaric horrors which pursued them on every side, sought refuge on the small islands which rise at the bottom of the Adriatic gulf. There they established themselves, and there they laid the foundations of the wonderful city of Venice, which in the course of time became so powerful that she rightfully claimed the title of mistress of the seas.

Aëtius, having received some succours from Marcianus, Emperor of Constantinople, combated separately the innumerable bands of Attila, but could attempt no important movement against him.

The emperor, reduced to extremes, sent the Pontiff St. Leo, a personage respected for his talents and virtues, to beg peace of the ferocious conqueror; and so well did the good pope employ his interest,

that he tamed the pride of the conqueror and obtained what he demanded; Attila retiring contented with an annual tribute.

Liberated from this great difficulty, Valentinian relapsed into his stupid indolence, and abandoned himself to his profligacy. Maximus, an illustrious and powerful patrician whose consort he had dishonoured, secretly conspired against him for the purpose of avenging the outrage. But fearing an obstacle to his designs in the approved fidelity of Aëtius, and resolved to destroy him, he accused him of rebellion to the emperor, who, with his own hand, without listening to his defence, assassinated the defender of the empire who had kept the tottering imperial diadem upon his head.

All fear of opposition being thus obviated, Maximus caused Valentinian to be murdered, and proclaimed himself emperor in his stead. He enjoyed his elevation but for a brief term. Eudoxia, widow of the deceased prince, secretly called Genseric, King of the Vandals, from Africa, to liberate her. Genseric, greedy of plunder and devastation, promptly obeyed the call. On his approach, Maximus attempted to fly, but was massacred in the streets of Rome. Genseric occupied the capital without resistance, and allowed it to be pillaged for fourteen entire days; after which he returned to Africa, taking with him many illustrious personages as captives, and among these the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters.

[U. C. 1210.] Aritus assumed the purple; Ricimerus assassinated him and gave the purple to

Majorianus, whom he caused to be slain some time after, when he perceived that he would not permit himself to be governed by him.

[U. C. 1220.] Leo, Emperor of Constantinople, sent Anthemus to reign in the west; but he also fell a victim to a revolt of Ricimerus. Olibrius, sent into Italy by the same Leo, for the purpose of reconciling Anthemus and Ricimerus, was proclaimed emperor by the latter. He reigned, however, but three months, when, assailed by a violent disease, he died a short time after the author of so many and such rapid changes.

To Olibrius succeeded Glicerius, of whom his name only is known; he was dethroned by Nepos.

The empire was in a state of confusion, anarchy, and disorder. The patrician Orestes, the ancient secretary of Attila, dethroned Nepos and proclaimed his own son Romulus, called Augustulus, who was deposed and confined in a castle by Odoacer, King of the Heruli and conqueror of Italy.

[U. C. 1229.] Thus fell the Western Roman Empire, never more to rise from its ruins.

Many causes concurred in bringing about its destruction; but, passing by all others, the principal and most potent was the common law of nature, to which moral, no less than physical bodies, are compelled to submit. Infants at their birth, they increase to adults, flourish in all the splendour of youth, and when their virility is passed, they gradually fall into the sear and yellow leaf, and, accompanied by all the infirmities inseparable from old age, decline into the tomb.

It is remarkable that Romulus was the first king of Rome known to history, and that the last lord of the falling empire should have called himself by the same name; that the first Roman emperor was named Augustus, and that the last should call himself, as if in mockery, Augustulus.

END OF THE SECOND EPOCH.

THIRD EPOCH.

FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE, TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY VII.

The Western Roman Empire, after having tottered from the time of the reigns of Constantine and Theodosius, finally fell in these days a prey to the conquering barbarians who had assaulted it on every side with extreme and obstinate fury. Each of the conquering nations bore off a part; from one arose many kingdoms, whose origins were the same, and which, after thousands of fortunate and sad vicissitudes, still actually exist.

Britain, abandoned by the Romans and left to her own resources, little able to defend herself, was invaded and subjugated by the Angles, who, from their own name, called it Anglia, or England.

Gaul, gradually conquered by the Franks, also changed its name, and was no longer called Gaul, but France: to that part of it occupied by the Burgundians, the name of Burgundy was given.

Spain preserved its ancient name, although entirely in the possession of the Suabians and Vandals.

Bætica alone, which takes its name from the Bætis, (Guadalquivir,) which irrigates it, took from its new lords, the Vandals, the name of Vindelicia; time, and the mutations of popular language, have since changed it into Andalusia. The Vandals also extended their dominion over the Roman provinces in Africa, which they held until the time of the Greek Emperor Justinian.

Pannonia, occupied by the Huns, became Hungary; and to Italy, of all her past and for ever lost greatness, remained alone her glorious name, which to this day commemorates the land so productive of rulers of the world. This land, the most beautiful portion of the crumbled Roman empire; this land, the most noted for its indomitable valour, which rendered it master of all other portions of that empire; this land, which fatigued fame with the interminable relation of its warlike enterprises; this land, compelled to swallow to the dregs the bitter chalice of the most cruel adversity, was finally condemned, by inexorable destiny, to suffer eternal divisions.

The Italians were first spoiled by the corrupting riches of a subjugated world; next discouraged by constantly-accumulating misfortunes, great in proportion to their preceding prosperity; then, degenerated by the intermixture of barbarous nations, who disputed with them every clod of their native land, they became miserably divided among themselves, and every fraternal feeling was extinguished in their unsettled minds. Provinces quarrelled with provinces; city opposed city; and families warred against families. A selfish and infernal policy,

foreign to all Italian interests, fanned the embers of these discords, and by every possible means maintained and extended them.

Italy, thus lacerated by her own hands, was always an easy prey for foreign oppressors, and daily opened in her bosom vast arenas for their sanguinary contests.

Warlike valour did not, however, remain utterly extinct in every breast; and many of the Italian people made melancholy exhibitions of it in giving vent to their fratricidal anger against each other. But the Venetians, the Ligurians, and the Pisans often showed themselves more generous, and by their maritime enterprises gained a wide-spread and glorious fame, in honourable wars against foreign enemies.

Finally, no longer able to contend for the military palm with other nations, who, more wise, or at least more fortunate, had by their union maintained their precious independence, Italy exchanged the worship of Mars for that of Minerva: and, excelling by the force of genius in the sciences, in literature, and in the fine arts, as she had before excelled in arms, from being the mistress, she became the teacher of astonished Europe, enriching her with new worlds, and dissipating the thick clouds of mental darkness by which she had been overshadowed.

But let us again take up the thread of events. Pavia being taken by force of arms, her defender, Orestes, the father of Augustulus, beheaded, and this feeble emperor confined in the castle of Lucullano, near Naples, the conquering Odoacer, leader

of the Heruli, ascended the throne and took the title of King of Italy. He sent a noble embassy to the Greek emperor Zeno, and that weak monarch, having neither the will nor the power to assert his rights, recognised the usurper and conferred upon him patrician dignity.

[U. C. 1233.] The new king of Italy allied himself with the neighbouring barbarians, assured to himself the possession of Sicily by a slight tribute to Genseric, the tyrant of Africa; and to attach the Herulian leaders to his interests, he distributed among them a third part of the lands of Italy.

The Italians enjoyed for some time, under a barbarous king, the benefits of a wise and tutelary government; but their satisfaction did not last long. The number of foreigners who flocked into Italy to place themselves under the protection of Odoacer, went on increasing from day to day; entire populations also were by him transported here from Noricum. The inhabitants, indignant at being compelled to divide the fruits of their land, and even their land itself, with so many guests, and fearful of being confounded with, and disappearing among so many barbarians, applied to Zeno, warmly supplicating him to liberate them from their shameful and insupportable yoke.

The Greek emperor was indebted for his throne to Theodoric the Amalo, a valiant prince of the Goths; but gratitude, so rare among men in general, is still more so among monarchs; Zeno, to the sentiment of ingratitude united that of a vile jealousy

towards the brave Theodoric, and lived in a continual suspicion of him.

He therefore embraced this favourable occasion of liberating himself from his presence; and hiding his base distrust under the veil of noble generosity, encouraged him to attempt the conquest of Italy.

[U. C. 1241.] Theodoric departed with his troops for that purpose. He defeated his rival Odoacer many times in battle, and finally compelled him, after many vicissitudes, to shut himself up in Ravenna; there he besieged him, and compelled him to surrender on certain conditions. These conditions were, however, badly observed by the victorious Goth; as, not long after, finding himself embarrassed by his august prisoner, he got rid of him by murdering him with his own hand at a feast.

[U. C. 1246.] All Italy being, by the death of Odoacer, rendered submissive to its new master, he dedicated himself entirely to the well-governing of his newly-acquired dominions. In him again lived the Trajans and Aureliuses, and the country enjoyed an enviable tranquillity during his long reign. He favoured science and literature, and greatly distinguished literary and learned men, heaping honours upon them, and confiding to them the principal official trusts. Of this his secretary Cassiodorus, and the illustrious senator Boëthius, are instances. Although an Arian, far from persecuting the Catholics, he was most tolerant towards them; and interposing his supreme authority between Symmachus and Laurentius, who with arms disputed the pontificate at Rome, he put an end to the schism by causing

the first to be recognised as the one who had been proclaimed canonically, and with a majority of the suffrages of the Catholic clergy.

[U. C. 1258.] He warred against Clovis, King of the Franks, to check his conquering ambition and to possess himself of a portion of Hungary. He fortified himself by useful alliances, and put in operation the most profound policy to consolidate the Italian throne in his family.

If Theodoric, an Arian, evinced a disposition to treat the Catholics with mildness, an equal mildness towards the Arians was required of the Catholic Justinian, Emperor of Constantinople. Being informed that Justinian tormented the Arian sect with all manner of vexations, he first complained of it by letters; he then sent Pope John as ambassador, to negotiate in favour of the Arians, and menaced Justinian with severe reprisals if he should persist in his persecutions.

The pontiff went unwillingly and unsuccessfully; the irritated Theodoric, attributing to him the bad success of his embassy, shut him up in prison on his return, and there left him to linger out his life.

These infructuous and unpleasant negotiations irritated the mind of the King of Italy, now arrived at his sixty-eighth year. He became suspicious and distrustful to such a degree that, upon an unproved accusation of conspiracy, he caused Symmachus, the father-in-law of Boëthius, to be beheaded; and afterward caused this same illustrious philosopher to be executed with the most atrocious and barbarous torments.

It was not long, however, before his heart was lacerated with the most bitter repentance for his cruelty; he fell into a profound melancholy, approaching insanity, and died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, leaving the throne to the child Atalaric, born of his daughter Amalasunta.

[U. C. 1279.] This wise, virtuous, and learned princess governed the kingdom as regent; and while she held the reins, her subjects had no reason to regret the deceased Theodoric. She erected a noble mausoleum to the memory of her father in Ravenna, whose remarkable vault is of one single piece of Istrian stone. Many centuries after, this monument, despoiled by a king of France of the statues of the apostles which adorned it, was converted into a church, which still exists.

Amalasunta took great care of the education of her son Atalaric; but it was useless in its results. Irresistibly excited by his perverse disposition, and the pernicious example of vicious courtiers, the young prince abandoned himself to the most unbridled profligacy, of which he shortly became the wretched victim. This event was productive of incredible grief to the queen. By the pride of her nobles, who disdained to be governed by a woman, she was soon after compelled to divide her couch and throne with Theodatus, a nephew of Theodoric. The latter, wishing to enjoy full and absolute authority, soon after shut up in a castle and then strangled the unhappy princess.

[U. C. 1288.] Vast were the aims of the Emperor Justinian, reigning in Constantinople. Hav-

ing, by the aid of the brave Belisarius, conquered Africa and reunited it with the empire, he turned his attention to Italy and determined to take possession of it; he charged that brave warrior with the enterprise. Belisarius, with his numerous fleet, approached the shores of Sicily, and landing his troops, took entire possession of the island without opposition; he then crossed the strait, subdued the southern provinces, besieged Naples, and after twenty days of murderous contests, took possession of it sword in hand.

Theodatus, cowardly as he was cruel, vainly sent ambassadors to Justinian to purchase peace at whatever cost; the Goths, indignant at the vileness of their monarch, murdered him, and proclaimed Vitiges king in his stead.

While the new king was collecting with incredible celerity what forces he could, to check the course of the conquests of Belisarius, the latter presented himself before Rome and occupied it by convention.

[U. C. 1290.] The army of the Greek general, much weakened by sickness, by the vicissitudes of the war, and by the numerous garrisons which he had left here and there to guard the places he had subdued, was reduced to a few more than five thousand combatants. Nevertheless, Belisarius fearlessly confided in the valour of his troops to enable him to resist successfully the innumerable army of the Goths, which, under the conduct of Vitiges, was approaching to attack him.

The Goths were entirely ignorant of the arts of siege, and on their side all operations were reduced

to furious assaults upon the walls and exterior defences. Continually repulsed, they continually returned to the attack, alternating their assaults with strict blockade.

Resolved to possess himself of Rome, Vitiges remained obstinately before it a year and nine days, until his army had lost two thirds of its numbers by the sword and contagion, and the remaining third had become discouraged by the wondrous bravery of its defenders, when he found himself compelled to raise the fruitless siege and retire to Ravenna.

[U. C. 1292.] Belisarius, having received powerful re-enforcements from Constantinople, was not long in following and besieging him in that city. The Gothic prince resisted some time; but, perceiving that he was in danger of being betrayed by his troops, and being menaced with all the horrors of famine, he surrendered to the general of Justinian, who took him with him to Constantinople, whither the emperor, jealous of his glory, had recalled him before he could terminate the conquest of Italy.

[U. C. 1294.] To the unfortunate Vitiges succeeded Ildibald, who proved fully worthy of the selection made by his nation. Victory constantly favoured him in all the opportunities which offered to combat the imperial troops; but, after a year of glorious reign, he fell a victim to the private vengeance of one Gepidus, who traitorously murdered him as he issued from the table.

[U. C. 1295.] The Goths elected Alaric as successor to Ildibald; and, after a brief reign of five months, precipitated him from the throne, and sub-

stituted Baduilla, a nephew of Ildibald, more noted under the name of Totila; *i. e. The Immortal.* This brave prince sustained yet twelve years the falling fortunes of the Goths; profiting by the victories of Ildibald, he secured the possession of the upper part of Italy; then, by the taking of Naples, he subdued the lower part to his dominion.

[U. C. 1298.] Justinian, profoundly afflicted by the loss of Italy, where he preserved but Rome and Placentia, again sent Belisarius to re-establish there the imperial supremacy.

The aged general soon arrived there; but with so small a force that he could not prevent the fall of Rome into the hands of the Goths. Totila, fearing he should not be able to defend it against Belisarius, determined utterly to destroy that most noble city; but he was fortunately deterred from such fatal counsels by Belisarius himself, who succeeded by crafty arguments in exciting the generosity of his princely enemy; in consequence of which he suffered it to exist, and contented himself with scattering its inhabitants through the neighbouring country. But no sooner had Totila removed from the city, than the imperial leader entered it and recalled the inhabitants; being then strongly fortified and well furnished, he bravely defended the city against the enemy, who hastily returned to dislodge him.

Meanwhile the King of the Goths contracted an alliance with Theodebert, King of the Franks; and being thus secure from molestation in northern Italy, directed all his force against the southern portion of the kingdom. He compelled Belisarius to abandon

Rome, of which he finally remained master, and crossing with his army into Sicily, attempted to subdue it, for the purpose of rendering his possession of Italy more secure. The audacious attempt was unsuccessful, however, and with sorrow he saw himself compelled to renounce it.

[U. C. 1302.] Justinian, irritated by the ill success of Belisarius, which certainly could not have been better with the small means at his disposal, recalled him from Italy, and sent there in his stead the eunuch Narses. The latter, who had already grown old in the obscure services of the court, was destined to surprise the world with the greatness of his character, and with the vastness of his military talents. Assiduously coasting the northern shores of the Adriatic, Narses penetrated into Italy with numerous and warlike bands; he was already master of Ravenna, while the Goths yet believed him arrested in Friuli by the strong defences they had there prepared.

Totila was not, however, discouraged; but reuniting his warriors, moved from the vicinity of Rome against Narses, who came rapidly from Ravenna to meet him. The two armies encountered in the territory of Urbino; but the issue of the bloody struggle was fatal to the Gothic prince, who lost the battle and his life together.

The relics of the discomfited army were collected under Teia, a brave captain of Totila, who retired to Pavia, and employed every possible means to form a new army with which to sustain the wavering hopes of the Gothic empire. The conqueror, mean-

while, having occupied Rome, proceeded to commence the siege of Cumæ, where Algiern, a brother of the deceased monarch, had shut himself up with a part of his treasures.

[U. C. 1306.] Teia hastened to his defence, and at the foot of the Vesuvius the Greeks and Goths combated two entire days with incredible fury. Teia remained dead on the field of battle; his followers, conquered and disheartened, deposed their arms and submitted. Algiern, no longer hoping for succour, also surrendered to the victorious Narses.

While Narses occupied himself in subduing Etruria to the dominion of the Greek empire, a deluge of Franks and Germans, commanded by Leutari and Buccellinus, generals of the King of Austrasia, crossed the Alps under the pretence of succouring their allies the Goths, and, divided into two bands, scoured the whole of Italy, spreading everywhere rapine, flames, and death. But while the band of Leutari, laden with booty, retired for the purpose of recrossing the mountains, it was entirely defeated by the Greeks near Fano, and the greater part of its remains most miserably perished by pestilence near Venice: nor did the division guided by Buccellinus meet with better fortune. Surprised also by Narses, in the vicinity of Capua, they nearly all perished in a furious conflict, and to very few of the barbarians was it permitted to repass the Alps, and again behold their native country.

[U. C. 1320.] The power of the Goths being entirely destroyed, and all Italy subdued to the sceptre of Justinian, that emperor descended to the

tomb, and left the imperial throne to the weak Justinus II.; and not long after him, Narses, covered with trophies, terminated his glorious career.

This great man has been accused by some historians of having himself invited the Lombards to descend into Italy and make the conquest of it; and this to revenge the unjust odium in which he was held by the Empress Sophia, and the bloody outrage he suffered from her. Other historians attempt with good reasons to wash the foul blot of treason from his glory.

In the midst of so much uncertainty, we leave the question undecided, and content ourselves with referring to the fact, whatever may have been the true cause.

[U. C. 1321.] Alboin, the ferocious king of the Lombards, a people who very probably came from Scandinavia, occupied in these times, with the consent of Justinian, Hungary and Noricum. It is not improbable that those of the Lombards who as allies of the empire had followed Narses in the Italian war, had given to their companions on their return a magnificent picture of the mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil of the conquered provinces, and had thus awakened in the mind of the kingly adventurer the idea of subduing a country so superior to the one he then possessed.

However this may have been, certain it is that Alboin determined to attempt the enterprise. With the assistance of the Avars, he defeated and exterminated the Gepidæ, who might have opposed his designs, murdered their king, Cunimund, and con-

strained the daughter of the murdered monarch to espouse him; he then crossed the Julian Alps and rapidly extended his conquests on every side.

To the brave Narses had succeeded in the government of Italy the timid Longinus, who, with the title of exarch, had fixed his seat at Ravenna. He, unable to resist the devastating torrent, and receiving no succours from Constantinople, abandoned the country to its destiny, and the cities to their respective forces; and both country and cities in a short time fell into the hands of the barbarians, excepting Rome and Ravenna, which bribed the enemy with gold to pass them by, and the southern extremity of Italy and Sicily.

[U. C. 1326.] The conqueror took the title of King of Italy; he conferred upon his captains, with the titles of counts and dukes, the government of the cities and the territories dependant upon them; the captains in return obligating themselves by oath to pay tribute and military service; and thus was the celebrated feudal system permanently established. In other respects, although a barbarian, he governed with justice and clemency, and soon rendered himself dear to the people he had conquered.

Alboin did not long enjoy the fruits of his conquests. According to the usage of the barbarians of the north, he had caused a cup to be made of the scull of the murdered King of the Gepidæ, from which he drank in solemn banquets. In one of these, inebriated by joy and wine, he filled the cup and offered it to Rosamond, his consort, saying with a cruel smile, "Drink with thy father." The

princess, trembling with rage and horror, swore vengeance; she fulfilled the horrible oath by causing an officer, by her seduced, to murder the imprudent husband.

Clephis, the most powerful among the dukes, was, after five months of interregnum, proclaimed by the Lombards successor to Alboin. He reigned only seventeen months; but this short reign was sufficient to render him odious alike to the conquerors and conquered, as in the highest degree avaricious and cruel. One of his servants assassinated him while he slept.

[U. C. 1327.] The dukes, to the number of thirty-six, desirous of liberty and independence, declined electing or recognising another monarch, and formed among themselves a federal aristocracy, each one governing his own city and its dependant territory.

[U. C. 1337.] This form of government lasted ten years; after which the dukes, perceiving that the country was approaching a state of anarchy, that the Greeks would not fail to take advantage of the weakness which was the inevitable consequence of their position, and that the existence of the state, as well as their own private interests, would infallibly be sacrificed, determined to elect a new king; as such they proclaimed Autharis.

This prince reigned with great glory, and drew the monarchy from the abyss into which the aristocratic confederation had precipitated it; he extended and strongly constituted the supreme authority, and

forced the grand feudatories to recognise the right of the monarch to remove them at pleasure.

[U. C. 1343.] The chair of St. Peter in Rome was in these days occupied by Pope Gregory the Great, afterward placed by the Church among the number of the saints. This celebrated pontiff, who honoured the pontificate by his zeal for religion and his Christian charity, wrote to the Emperor Phocas to expostulate against the use of the title of Patriarch Œcumenical, affected by the Bishops of Constantinople notwithstanding the lively opposition of the popes. Gregory obtained from that emperor a declaration in favour of the rights of the Church of Rome; but the Greek Church paid no respect to it. Phocas knew the inutility of such a declaration, and certainly proposed to himself no other object in this condescension than that of pacifying the pontiff and retaining his friendship; since he feared that if he became offended, he would use his influence and his immense credit to render himself independent of the empire.

[U. C. 1344.] Autharis having deceased, as was believed by poison, the beautiful Theodelinda, his widow, espoused in her second nuptials Agilulph, Duke of Turin, and with her hand gave him the crown and sceptre of the Lombard kingdom.

This king, previously an idolater, soon embraced the religion of his pious consort, and both warmly seconded the zeal of Pope Gregory for the extinction of heathenism.

Agilulph was one of the best monarchs who

reigned in Italy after the invasions of the barbarians.

[U. C. 1368.] Dying, he left the crown to his son Adaloald; Arioald, Duke of Turin, usurped it but did not enjoy it long. Surprised by death, his wife Gundeberga shared her couch and throne with Rotharis, Duke of Brescia.

[U. C. 1389.] This monarch illustrated himself by his courage in the war which he undertook for the purpose of reuniting with the monarchy the Italian territories which yet obeyed the Greek emperor in Venice, Liguria, and Etruria; by his firmness in repressing the insolence of the nobility; by his prudence in legislation; and, above all, by his moderation in the affairs of religion. Although an Arian, he efficaciously protected the Catholics; and the example of this tolerant monarch had so much power over the minds of his subjects, that in every city the Catholics and Arians lived together as brothers, each having their temples and their bishops.

[U. C. 1405.] His son Rodoald succeeded him. Of Rodoald history tells us nothing, except that he abandoned himself to libertinism and perished a victim to the vengeance of a Lombard whose wife he had outraged.

[U. C. 1406.] After him the Lombards elected the Bavarian Aribert, nephew of Theodelinda. His government recalled to memory the virtues of that princess, and enabled his subjects to enjoy several years of calm, peace, and prosperity.

The Greek empire, deeply afflicted by the gigantic

progress of Islamism, preached, with arms in their hands, by Mohammed and his successors, and disturbed besides, perhaps yet more, by the incredible and universal mania for interminable theological controversies, declined in strength from day to day; in its downward course the ties, already so fragile, which bound to it the remains of its dominion in Italy, were still more weakened. Rome rejected the imperial edict in favour of the Monothelites, a new sect which recognised one only will in Jesus Christ. The vigorous resistance of this great city became now most important, as that in which resided the supreme pontiff of Christianity, and which it was already seen would soon entirely withdraw itself from the imperial influence of Constantinople.

The Exarch of Ravenna not being able to conquer the opposition of Pope Martin, caused him to be abducted and sent to the emperor, who confined him in the Crimea, where he left him to die.

[U. C. 1408.] At the death of Aribert, the Lombard kingdom was divided between his two sons, Pertaritus and Gondebert. The latter soon formed the project of usurping his brother's portion, and being too weak to succeed alone in the enterprise, associated with himself the ambitious Duke Grimoald of Benevento, who cunningly profited by these divisions to raise himself upon the ruin of the rival brothers.

Arrived at Pavia, the residence of Gondebert, to concert a plan of operations with that prince, he murdered him with his own hand on their first inter-

view, pretending that the prince had laid a snare for his life.

Pertaritus, who reigned in Milan, being informed of the destiny of his brother, and not daring to dispute the throne with his new rival, sought refuge in Hungary with the Avars his allies; but his consort Rodelinda, and his son Cunibert, yet a child, fell into the power of the usurper Grimoald, who confined them in Benevento, the government of which he had confided to his son Romoald.

[U. C. 1415.] The Greek emperor, Constans, attempted to revive the imperial dominion in Italy. He approached its southern shore with a numerous fleet, and, landing a powerful army, commenced the siege of Benevento. Grimoald flew to the succour of his son, compelled the Greeks to fight, and completely defeated them in a pitched battle. Constans determined to avenge his shameful defeat by sacking Rome, and marched towards it for that purpose; but again defeated, in a second conflict, he retreated into Sicily; and all the southern portion of Italy, with the exception of the dukedom of Naples, submitted to the Lombard authority.

Grimoald, relieved from all fear on the part of the Greeks, was devoured by inquietude respecting Pertaritus, who had retired among the Avars. He vainly attempted to purchase the possession of his person with gold; the barbarians were not disposed to violate the holy laws of hospitality; but they advised the unfortunate young prince to seek another asylum, not feeling themselves sufficiently strong to provoke on his account an attack from his brave

enemy. Pertaritus, tired of wandering a mendicant dependant upon the compassion of foreigners, appealed to the generosity of Grimoald himself, who nobly received and entertained him in Pavia. It was not long, however, before the king, newly assailed by the suspicions inseparable from the heart of a usurper, again meditated his death. Informed in time, the prince fled into France; but not deeming himself safe there, he was about seeking refuge in England, when the news arrived of the death of Grimoald.

This monarch, worthy of the throne had he not acquired it by crime, strove by the wisdom of his government to cause the bloody path which had conducted him there to be forgotten. He perfected the code of Rotharis, and recognised the Catholic as the dominant religion of the Lombards.

[U. C. 1424.] Although Grimoald had left the crown to his son Garibault, yet a child, Pertaritus nevertheless ascended the paternal throne without obstacle, and by the wisdom of his government justified the voice of the people which had called him to govern.

[U. C. 1431.] To him succeeded Cunibert, his son, who narrowly missed falling a victim to the ingratitude and treachery of Alachi, Duke of Brescia, who was indebted to him for his state, and perhaps for his life. Alachi conspired against his benefactor, and, while he was absent, occupied Pavia and proclaimed himself king in the presence of the people, who were so stupified with surprise and astonishment that no one ventured to oppose his sudden

usurpation. Cunibert, at the not less sad than unexpected news, fled for refuge to a strong fortress situated on a small island in the Lake of Como, and there awaited better times. Nor were these long in coming. Alachi imprudently ill-treated his accomplices, and sought the lives of some of them, that he might possess himself of their wealth. These, indignant, and at the same time repenting of their crime, conspired against the tyrant in favour of Cunibert, who, with their aid, soon collected an army and hastened to meet the usurper and his partisans.

[U. C. 1443.] Alachi, discomfited after a long and bloody conflict, paid for his misdeeds with his life, and the victory of the legitimate sovereign restored for some years peace and tranquillity to the kingdom.

[U. C. 1450.] The government of Venice in these times took a better form, greater importance, and more solidity. The Venetians, convinced that the strength of the whole resulted from a union of the parts, abolished the multitudes of tribunes by which they had theretofore been governed, and in a solemn assembly, convoked in Heraclea by the patriarch Gradus, elected one sole head to govern the state, to whom they gave the name of duke, or doge: they surrounded him with almost regal pomp, and encircled his brows with a crown, which they called the *corno ducale*. The first to be invested with this new and august dignity was a citizen of Heraclea, named Paolo-Luca-Anafesto, who was renowned for his prudence and probity.

[U. C. 1453.] Cunibert having died, his son

Liutbert reigned a short time, under the tutelage of Asprand, a Lombard of high lineage and equal merit. Ragimbert, Duke of Turin, and son of Gondebert, taking advantage of his youth, aspired to the throne, defeated Asprand in battle, and seized the supreme power. He preserved it, however, only three months, when, dying, he left it to his son Aribert II.

Asprand, collecting a second army in defence of the cause of his pupil, assailed Aribert; but, again defeated, he found himself compelled to seek beyond the mountains an asylum from his vanquisher: Liutbert, falling into the hands of his rival, was suffocated in a bath.

[U. C. 1464.] Time did not lessen in Asprand the desire of vengeance; with much money and more promises, he again collected a large band of Bavarians, and descended into Italy, where he was joined by a strong corps of Lombards, his partisans. He then assailed the usurper, who vigorously sustained the shock; but, finally conquered and put to flight, Aribert was submerged in the Ticino, and miserably perished.

Asprand, the victor, was proclaimed king; but at the end of three months he died, leaving the crown to his son Liutprand.

[U. C. 1465.] This prince, active, prudent, and courageous, did not lose sight of his own personal aggrandizement, while he most efficaciously occupied himself in promoting the prosperity of his subjects. In his long reign of thirty-two years, the glory of the Lombards attained its highest elevation;

this glory, however, excited serious jealousies in powerful enemies, which resulted in the total ruin of his successors.

[U. C. 1480.] In the east, the religious controversies continued without end; the Emperor Leo Isaurus, confounding use with abuse, proscribed the worship of sacred images, and gave rise to the sect of the Iconoclausts. Vain was the imperial prohibition; pictures and statues were everywhere defaced and broken, and a vast conflagration of violence and sedition at once diffused itself, and devoured the east and west. Ravenna, Rome, and Naples, and all the places in Italy which yet recognised the Greek authority, rebelled, and would no longer obey a heretic sovereign.

Liutprand availed himself of the universal turbulence; he besieged and took Ravenna, and made himself master of many other places belonging to Greece.

On the other hand, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Ancona, and many other cities, loudly declared for the pope; they proclaimed his cause to be that of the province, and signified their readiness to select Catholic governors.

In Rome, although governed by dukes dependant upon the exarchs of Ravenna, the high pontiffs had in these times the principal authority, much less on account of their great riches, than through the respect and confidence inspired by their virtues, and the supreme dignity with which they were invested. St. Gregory had already negotiated with many princes several important affairs of state; his suc-

cessors, therefore, thenceforth divided their cares between episcopal and political affairs. Nor could it well have been otherwise; since profane interests had become inextricably mingled with the spiritual functions.

Equally interested in withdrawing himself from the dominion of a distant and heretical emperor, and in resisting the enterprises of the King of Italy, the pope employed every possible means which could promise success in this double intent. He employed craft and religion alternately, and gradually succeeded in forming for himself an independent monarchy, defended not by earthly arms, but by the thunders of the Vatican, in those times formidable to both people and monarchs.

[U. C. 1482.] The Pontiff Gregory II., alarmed by the rapid conquests of the Lombard king, much more dangerous to himself and his designs than the Emperor of the East, implored the assistance of Charles Martel, a French leader already illustrious for his victories over the Saracens. The negotiations did not succeed. Gregory III. renewed them with better success; but the death of Charles suspended the execution. Liutprand, however, already upon the point of possessing himself of Rome, yet not wishing to provoke against the Lombards the dreaded power of France, not only granted peace to the new pope, Zachary, but, moved by his words, fell at his feet, declared himself the protector of the Church, and entering Rome, deposited the ensigns of royalty upon the sacred tomb of the apostles, in token of peace and respect.

Liutprand survived this ceremony but a short time, and with his life peacefully terminated a reign equally long and glorious.

[U. C. 1497.] The Lombards elected for their monarch Rachis, Duke of Friuli, a prince whose virtue, love of justice, and piety, rendered him well worthy of the high station in which the public voice had placed him.

Heir to the rights or pretensions of his predecessors upon the dutchy of Rome, he took up arms for their establishment, and laid siege to Perugia. The Pontiff Zachary sought him in his camp, and argued with him to such effect, that, all his religious sentiments awakened, the Lombard king not only renounced the enterprise, but dismissed his army and retired to Monte Cassino, where he assumed the religious habit, and died in penitence.

[U. C. 1502.] Astolphus, his brother, was called to succeed him upon the throne; ambitious, greedy of conquest, and seeing himself at the head of a warlike and powerful nation, he determined to drive the Greeks from Italy, and render himself its sole master.

Towards the end of the reign of Liutprand, the Greeks had again obtained possession of Ravenna and re-established the exarchate there. Astolphus, having occupied the surrounding territory, besieged and took Ravenna, and nothing remained for the accomplishment of the objects of this prince, except the invasion and easy acquisition of the dutchy of Rome, situated in the midst of his dominions.

[U. C. 1506.] Vain, this time, was the eloquence

of the Pontiff Stephen II., upon the inflexible mind of Astolphus. He therefore had recourse, like Gregory II. and Gregory III., to the powerful aid of France; and not willing to confide the precious charge to other hands, promptly transferred himself there, and arrived precisely at the time when Pepin had driven the degenerate dynasty of Clovis from the French throne. He consecrated the new monarch, who had already been consecrated by Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, and by this act seemed to give a new sanction to the political revolution, while he acquired for himself an able and faithful protector.

Accompanied by a formidable army, Pepin and Stephen very soon descended into Italy. Astolphus, unable to resist so powerful an enemy, shut himself up in Pavia, and finally was compelled to cede to the pontiff all he had by arms acquired of the Greeks. But no sooner had Pepin turned his back and crossed the Alps, than the Lombard king, foaming with rage and eager for vengeance, again pushed forward his troops and laid siege to Rome.

[U. C. 1508.] Pepin immediately returned and defeated Astolphus, nor did he return to France this time before all the imposed conditions of the peace had been fulfilled.

The Lombard king died the year after, from a wound received while chasing a wild boar.

Desiderius, Duke of Istria, was declared King of the Lombards, in place of Astolphus.

This prince followed, with regard to Rome, the same policy as had his predecessors. Confiding in the friendship and relationship which united him to

the French monarch Charlemagne, who, by the management of Bertha, his mother, had espoused Desiderata, the daughter of Desiderius, and yet more assured by the bloody war which that king was then sustaining in Germany against the ferocious Saxons, he did not hesitate to take possession of all that Astolphus had been compelled to cede to the pontiff. He also employed every possible means to excite tumults in Rome itself, that he might the more easily penetrate into the city and get possession of the sacred person of the pope.

[U. C. 1523.] But the confidence of the Lombard king in the friendship, relationship, and distance of Charlemagne, was all disappointed.

At the pressing solicitation of Pope Adrian I., Charlemagne, no less anxiously than Pepin, hastened to his assistance: friendship was forgotten; the relationship was destroyed by the shameful repudiation of Desiderata; and the decision of the contest was referred to the fate of arms.

[U. C. 1527.] The standards of Charles were, as usual, triumphant. The army of Desiderius, which had been collected on the Alps for the purpose of closing and defending all its passes, being disbanded and dispersed by either terror or treason, the French monarch penetrated into Italy without obstacle. He immediately scoured the whole country, overthrowing the kingdom of the Lombards two centuries after Alboin had founded it upon the ruins of the conquests of Belisarius and Narses.

Desiderius fell with Pavia into the hands of Charles, who sent him a prisoner into France;

Adalgisus, his son, fled from Venice to Constantinople; Charles held the kingdom of the Lombards for himself; the dutchy of Spoleto and the Marche of Ancona he united to the dutchy of Rome and left to the Pope, preserving, however, for himself and his successors, the ultimate dominion.

Never was the conquest of a great state completed in so short a time and with so small a force as was this kingdom of the Lombards by the French monarch. But this facility will no longer appear marvellous to any one who reflects that the Italians were inimical to the Lombard dynasty, and, as is not unusual, flattered themselves that their condition would be ameliorated under a new sovereign; and also, that the popes, who had long aspired to political independence, saw in the existence of the ambitious King of the Lombards the greatest obstacle to the accomplishment of their designs.

[U. C. 1534.] Charles, proclaimed King of Lombardy, succeeded to the king of the conquered nation as quietly as though he had been the natural heir; but being called beyond the mountains by important affairs, he left Pepin in Italy, on his departure, with the title of king, creating a council to govern the state for him until he attained his majority.

[U. C. 1541.] In this interval, Adalgisus, sustained by a band of Greeks, made an attempt to reenter his hereditary kingdom. Vain attempt! he was defeated in battle, and, whether he was killed on that occasion, or whether he renounced for ever the counsels of a useless ambition, he disappeared from public view and was spoken of no more.

[U. C. 1552.] Pope Leo III., a personage venerable for his virtues, for his talents, and the sanctity of his habits, found himself in these days exposed to the sacrilegious violence of two considerable ecclesiastics, kinsmen of his predecessor. These not only accused him of various crimes, but attacked him in the public streets at noonday, and incarcerated him, more dead than alive, in a monastery. From this confinement he soon escaped by the aid of Guinigiso, Duke of Spoleto; he then repaired to France to implore the protection of Charlemagne, and declared himself ready to exculpate himself from the unworthy imputations. Charles sent him back into Italy in an honourable manner, and arrived himself in Rome a few days before the Nativity. His accusers not daring to make their appearance, the pontiff purged himself by solemn oath, and protested his innocence before God and man.

Charlemagne, on the day of the Nativity, assisted in the divine offices in the noble cathedral erected by Constantine to the first of the apostles. Suddenly the pontiff, interrupting the sacred ceremonies, placed upon his head the imperial crown, and proclaimed him Emperor of the West; and the people on every side exclaimed, "*Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans.*"

Thus, after more than three centuries, was in a certain measure resuscitated the extinct empire of the west, although, in fact, neither the Romans nor the pontiff had any right to confer upon the French prince such a dignity. However that may have

been, Charlemagne accepted it with nearly the same affected modesty as Octavius had before him, and, in the end, conducted himself like a true and legitimate successor of Augustus.

[U. C. 1562.] The Venetians, who by the demarcation of the two empires, Greek and French, found themselves comprised in the jurisdiction of the latter, being by habit and interest attached to the commerce of the Greeks, could never resolve to declare against these in favour of the new emperor. Pepin was desirous of punishing them for their oppugnation; and, collecting a powerful army near Ravenna, took possession of Chiozza and of Palestrina, and from thence menaced Malamocco, then the seat of the Venetian government. Angelo Participazio, taking advantage of the ascendency which his personal merits gave him over the minds of his frightened fellow-citizens, induced them to transfer themselves, with all their wealth, to Rialto, an island situated in the centre of the lagune, and therefore a stronger and more advantageous position.

The ships of Pepin, determined to attack, engaged them in the narrow canals which separate from each other the islands surrounding Rialto. Surprised, however, by the fall of the tide, they grounded and remained high and dry; while the Venetians, playing around them with their light vessels, attacked them on every side and burnt most of them.

Pepin avenged himself for the affront received from the Venetian arms by visiting with fire and sword that part of the territory occupied by him.

But Charlemagne, secretly influenced by the pontiff, granted to the Venetians, at his request, liberty to trade with the Greeks, and satisfied himself therefor with an annual tribute to be paid by them to the King of Italy.

[U. C. 1565.] To Pepin succeeded Bernard, his son; who, falling under suspicion of rebellion, was condemned to death by the Emperor Louis the Good. The capital sentence was, however, commuted for a loss of his sight; and his eyes were torn out in a manner so barbarous that this unhappy prince, more imprudent than culpable, perished.

Louis preserved the kingdom of Italy for some time; but espousing, in his second nuptials, Judith of Bavaria, conferred the title and sceptre of King of Italy upon Lothaire, her son.

This prince governed his states wisely, preserving peace and prosperity in them, while the rest of the empire was lacerated by the fatal dissensions of the Carlovingians; in which, however, led by ambition, he finally took a part. Uniting with his brothers Pepin and Louis, he marched with them against his father, Louis the Good, of whose person he obtained possession, and whom he deposed and shut up in a monastery at Soissons.

Lothaire did not long enjoy the fruits of his sad triumph. If ambition united the three brothers against their father, the same passion soon rendered them enemies to each other. Louis the Good profited by their divisions to escape from the monastery and reascend his tottering throne. Lothaire abandoned France, and retired into his kingdom of Italy.

But Louis the Good dying soon after, he resumed the imperial title, and reunited his portion of the empire with the Italian provinces.

[U. C. 1599.] The Saracens, who at this epoch had already gained possession of Sicily, caused great devastations in divers parts of Italy, and approaching Rome, pillaged all the churches outside its walls, and burnt and destroyed the circumjacent country. Pope Leo IV., fearing that the same terrible ruin might fall upon the Cathedral of St. Peter, obtained the consent of the emperor and caused the suburbs of the Vatican to be surrounded by strong walls for its better security. The work was pushed on with such activity that it was completed in four years. This new enclosure gave origin to the Leonine city, from the name of the pontiff who accomplished the undertaking.

[U. C. 1619.] To Lothaire, who died in the religious habit, succeeded in the kingdom of Italy, and in the empire, Louis II. This prince attempted, with various success, several expeditions into Southern Italy to drive out the Saracens, who had strongly established themselves there; and incurred great peril of his life, or at least of liberty, in Benevento, from the Duke Adelgiso, who made every effort to get him into his power. Seconded by a handful of brave followers, he defended himself three days in a tower in which he had taken refuge; until Adelgiso, alarmed by the news that a French army was approaching, left him at liberty to retire, after having made him solemnly swear he would never attempt to avenge himself.

[U. C. 1628.] Charles the Bald, king of France, and Carloman of Bavaria, disputed the heritage of the deceased emperor and king, Louis II. The first made a descent into Italy, and being favoured by Pope John VIII., and by the clergy, was received by them in Rome and crowned emperor and king; for which the pope was recompensed with divers territories and a magnificent regalia; but Carloman also soon made his appearance in Italy with a powerful army, to snatch from his uncle a heritage to which he believed himself to have the best right. The pope hastened back to Rome from Pavia, where he had been enjoying himself with Charles the Bald, and the latter retreated to Mount Cenis: there, attacked by a fever, he died in an obscure village. After his death, Carloman had little difficulty in causing himself to be proclaimed and recognised as king of Italy. But the new king, irritated against the pontiff for the favours he had shown to his deceased rival, ordered Duke Adalbert of Tuscany to get possession of him.

The pope was grievously offended by this violence, and had hardly attained his liberty when he interdicted the church of St. John Lateran, in which it had been committed, and fled to Louis the Stammerer, in France, for the purpose of exciting him to avenge his wrongs. From this time the pontifical influence was continually increasing, and thenceforth there was hardly any important occurrence in Europe which was not provoked, directed, or modified by the politics of the holy see.

[U. C. 1631.] John VIII. was, however, deluded in

his hopes of Louis the Stammerer, who, besides being enfeebled by sickness, was fully occupied by the internal affairs of his own kingdom. With an equally unhappy result he excited against Carloman, Bosone, duke of Provence. The latter having made a descent into Italy, found no partisans there, nor any power moving to sustain him. The pontiff then returned to Rome, and Bosone to Provence, where, after the death of Louis the Stammerer, he created the kingdom of Arles. Carloman did not long survive Louis, and, dying, left the empire and the kingdom of Italy to his brother Charles the Gross, who was crowned by the pope on Christmas day.

[U. C. 1634.] This cowardly prince made sad proof against the Normans, purchasing of them with gold a peace which he should have forced from them with the sword. Such meanness irritated against him all the people subjected to his sceptre; which irritation soon breaking out in open revolt, he was solemnly deposed by them in a diet.

[U. C. 1641.] This weak monarch having fallen from the throne, Guy, a French prince and duke of Spoleto, repaired immediately to France, where he was called by a party who flattered him with the promise of the crown. Berengarius, duke of Friuli, finding himself thus without a rival, accepted the offer of the throne of Italy made to him by the nobility of the realm, and proceeded to Pavia, where he was crowned with the celebrated iron crown by the Archbishop of Milan. No reign, perhaps, ever met with so many opposing obstacles and so much adversity as that of this prince.

In the first place, he was obliged to defend himself against Arnold, duke of Bavaria, who, deluded in his ambitious designs upon France, turned to Italy and advanced against Berengarius, at the head of a powerful army, to dispute with him the throne. Guy, also, having lost all hopes of reigning beyond the Alps, returned to Italy for the same object. Berengarius obtained peace with the first, by declaring himself to a certain extent his vassal; but with the second it was necessary to decide the contest with the sword.

[U. C. 1642.] Fortune declared against Berengarius; defeated in a decisive battle by his rival, he retreated to Verona, where he fortified himself and waited for better times.

Conqueror and master of Pavia, Guy convoked a synod of bishops, and there swore to a species of charter or constitution, in which he obligated himself to preserve the immunities and wealth of the Roman church and the rights of the bishops; not to disturb the latter in the exercise of their functions, especially their coercive jurisdiction against the violators of the laws of God; to permit the people to live according to their laws, and not to constrain them by violence to pay more than reasonable taxes: after which he was recognised and proclaimed king of Italy by the bishops themselves, without regard to the rights of Berengarius. The latter, however, not at all discouraged by his adverse destiny, was patiently waiting for a more propitious occasion for his exertions.

[U. C. 1645.] In fact, the arrogance of Guy

towards the nobility, and above all towards the holy see, then occupied by Pope Formoso, produced in them and him such disgust, that Berengarius and his partisans believed that the time of their triumph had arrived.

Seconded by the forces of Arnold, who, on this occasion, from his enemy became his apparent protector, he attacked and in a hard-fought battle defeated his rival.

Berengarius now supposed his misfortunes ended, and all his desires realized: but here may be seen how perilous is often the succour of a powerful friend. He had accomplished the victory with the troops of Arnold, and Arnold was determined to gather all its fruits; he possessed himself of all the authority and confined Berengarius in Bavaria.

[U. C. 1648.] There were now three pretenders to the throne of Italy; Arnold of Bavaria, who possessed it in fact; Berengarius, who was secretly intriguing with Adalbert II., marquis of Tuscany, for the expulsion of the foreigner; and Ageltrude, the widow of Guy, who actively sustained the rights of Lambert, her son.

Rome was at the same time agitated by the contest of the Pontiff Formoso, and of Sergio, antipope, sustained by Ageltrude and the Marquis of Tuscany. Formoso, reduced to extremities, implored the aid of Arnold, who, allured by the promise of the imperial diadem, marched incontinently against Rome, defended by Ageltrude, besieged and finally took it by assault. The princess found refuge in Fermo.

Arnold, crowned emperor, was following her vig-

orously, when a grave illness compelled him to return to Bavaria. After his departure Ageltrude and Lambert had little trouble in taking possession of the state, driving from it the person he had left there as his lieutenant.

Even Berengarius, after the death of Arnold, was enabled to return to his territories of Friuli, and accommodate matters with Lambert and Adalbert. Italy respired and appeared to recover peace and tranquillity.

[U. C. 1651.] This tranquillity was, however, disturbed by Bertha, consort of the Marquis of Tuscany. This princess, anxious for the title of queen, excited her husband Adalbert to make war upon Lambert, and to raise himself by his fall. But Adalbert, surprised by a party of the enemy, became a prisoner to the man whose ruin he had meditated. Lambert, more unfortunate than he, lost his life while hunting.

Berengarius reacquired the throne of Italy by the death of Lambert; he rendered his liberty to Adalbert, and accorded to Ageltrude the duchy of Spoleto.

[U. C. 1653.] This prince was destined, however, to continued vicissitudes; assailed this year by a formidable horde of ferocious Hungarians, he suffered from them a most bloody defeat, which lead to the pillage and devastation of all Lombardy. These having retired to their own country loaded with immense booty, Louis of Provence descended into Italy with a powerful army. He was the son of Bosone, usurper of the kingdom of Arles, and being proclaimed king of Italy in Pavia, obtained the im-

perial crown in Rome of the pontiff Benedict IV. But the nobility, who at first had favoured him, becoming very soon disgusted with his conduct, he found himself under the necessity of repassing into Provence, and Berengarius recovered the throne with the same facility with which he had lost it. Louis returned, however, a second time, and a second time ascended the Italian throne; but he was surprised in Verona by the despised Berengarius, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and then sent him back to Provence.

Berengarius had then to contend with the Saracens and the Hungarians, who from time to time desolated the kingdom with sanguinary incursions. All his care and forces being insufficient for all parts of the kingdom, he authorized the nobility and the monasteries to fortify their residences for the purpose of securing them against the insults and rapine of the barbarians. Italy, in consequence, soon became covered with fortresses and castles; every portion of the country, relying for safety upon its own ability for defence, became divided into small isolated states. Each had its own militia, its own officers for their guidance, and its own magistrates for the preservation of public order. Hence the origin of the Italian communities.

[U. C. 1665.] The illustrious pontiff, John X., grieved by the grave disasters inflicted upon Italy by the Saracens, formed the project of restraining their incursions. The death of Louis of Provence had left the imperial dignity vacant. The pope offered it to Berengarius as a reward for the powerful aid which

he implored of him; nor was the monarch averse to its acceptance. Collecting his forces, he marched at once to Rome, which he pompously entered, and having been crowned emperor, prepared himself to justify the hopes which the pontiff had placed in him.

[U. C. 1669.] John X., anxious for the success of so noble an enterprise, had made every possible preparation in advance. The Saracens, driven from every part to their fortresses on the banks of the Garigliano, were overcome after a vigorous defence; none of them escaped either death or servitude. Berengarius reaped much glory from this expedition, as did also the pontiff who had planned it and prepared with great foresight the means of rendering it successful.

[U. C. 1674.] The misfortunes of this prince were not, however, terminated. Some of the nobility, among whom was his son-in-law, Adalbert, marquis of Ivrea, in the idleness of peace conspired against him, and invited Rodolph, king of Burgundy Trasjurana, to make a descent into Italy, promising him the crown. Rodolph yielded to their invitation, and Berengarius, again abandoned, again sought refuge in Verona, where he had so often found a secure asylum in adversity. Drawing what forces he could from those provinces which still remained faithful to him, and reinforcing them with a numerous band of Hungarians largely paid, he attacked his rival near Fiorenzola. The conflict, in which all the horrors of civil war were renewed, was most severe.

[U. C. 1677.] Berengarius was defeated with great slaughter and fled to Verona, where, at the in-

stigation of his enemies, he was basely assassinated by a nobleman of that city named Flambert.

[U. C. 1678.] Rodolph, having no longer a rival, found himself master of the usurped realm, which, however, he did not long enjoy. Ermengarda, a sister of Hugh of Provence, and widow of the Marquis of Ivrea, exercised by her intrigues a great influence over the principal noble vassals of the kingdom of Italy; profiting by an occasional absence of Rodolph, she excited a general insurrection against him and in favour of her brother. Rodolph hastened his return, and, collecting an army, attempted to maintain himself; but the intrigues of the princess produced such distrust between him and his troops, that neither was able to place confidence in the other; in consequence of which he gave up all thoughts of resistance, and, crossing the Alps with a few followers, returned to Burgundy.

While one woman was disposing (thus to speak) of the crown of Italy to Hugh of Provence, another, Maria or Marosia, widow of the Marquis Alberic, disposed of the dominion of the capital of the world in favour of her new husband, Guy, duke of Tuscany.

[U. C. 1679.] Hugh, having disembarked at Pisa, was enthusiastically received by the nobility and people collected from every part, who considered him as the saviour of Italy. This prince, under the flattering and hypocritical appearance of mildness, and under the external veil of a profound respect for religion and its ministers, concealed the unfeeling policy of Tiberius, the calculating cruelty of Octavius, and the contemptuous mockery of an atheist.

Hardly proclaimed king, he contracted a strict alliance with Pope John X., who in this sought the means of re-establishing his own authority in Rome, which had been almost entirely destroyed by the power of Marosia and of Guy.

[U. C. 1681.] But the unfortunate pontiff himself fell a victim to the satellites of those enemies: dragged by them to a prison, he died there, a few days after of grief, or, as some pretend, of poison. After him Leo VI. occupied for some months the chair of St. Peter. Stephen VII., in the beginning of this year, succeeded to that dignity; and, after his death, the intrigues of Marosia placed a natural son of hers upon the pontifical seat, who became, under the name of John XI., the head of the Catholic church, and thus united in himself all the spiritual and temporal means of governing without obstacle or opposition.

Hugh, who desired to unite the dukedom of Rome with his states, calculating on the ties of relationship, offered his hand to Marosia, who remained the widow of Guy, his brother; and she, being ambitious of the title of queen, without scruple accepted it. The monarch proceeded to Rome and completed the fatal marriage.

[U. C. 1684.] But it was not long before the Romans, deeply offended by the pride and severity of Hugh, and excited besides by the young Alberic, the son of Marosia by her first husband, rebelled, flew to arms, and compelled Hugh to fly shamefully from the city. The young tyrant, being possessed of power, made the first use of it to confine his mother in prison, and to place his pontiff brother

under so strict a custody that he could undertake nothing without his knowledge and consent.

[U. C. 1693.] Meanwhile Hugh, not being able to vent his rage upon the Romans, made the Lords of Ivrea and Spoleto its victims, despoiling both of their dominions and the latter of his life; Berengarius, marquis of Ivrea, saved himself by opportune flight. He then destroyed some dens of the Saracens, and visited upon them the horrible destruction of which they had set the example in the Roman territories.

This prince reigned twenty years, and maintained himself upon the throne by violence and by all the artifices of a crafty and refined tyranny. But a breath is sufficient to overthrow a power, however great, which is not founded upon justice and the love of the people. Hugh experienced this.

[U. C. 1695.] Many of the nobility, for good reasons discontented, conspired against him in favour of the fugitive Berengarius. The conspiracy was matured in silence, and broke out simultaneously on every side. Hugh, alarmed by the sudden storm, sent to Milan, where a diet had been convoked, his son Lothaire, a most amiable prince and endowed with all the virtues that were lacking in his wicked father. The diet, moved to compassion by his presence, proclaimed him king of Italy jointly with Berengarius; and the latter, affecting moderation, consented to divide the royal authority with him. Hugh returned to Provence, where it is said he died in the religious habit, the last disguise of hypocrisy, which could not hide his real character from his contemporaries, much less from posterity.

[U. C. 1703.] The unhappy Lothaire, who had pleased himself with the most flattering hopes, became this year the victim of Berengarius. The latter, determined to reign without a colleague, put him out of the way by poison, and by means of his intrigues was declared sole king of Italy under the name of Berengarius II.

[U. C. 1709.] Alberic, the tyrant of Rome, being dead, he was succeeded in authority by Octavian his son, who, the holy see remaining vacant by the death of Agapito II., wished to unite in himself both the temporal and spiritual power. He therefore, although a layman, caused himself to be elected sovereign pontiff at the age of nineteen years, and governed the church, which recognised him, under the name of John XII.

[U. C. 1712.] Meanwhile Berengarius oppressed Italy with a stupid tyranny. Otho the Great, moved by the sad complaints of numerous deputations which came to him from every part of the country imploring succour, finally left the place of his sojourn in Germany, and descended from the Alps with a powerful army. A diet was then assembled at Milan, which deposed Berengarius II. and his son Adalbert, and offered the iron crown to Otho. The prince accepted it from the hands of the archbishop of that city, and thence moved towards Rome to receive the imperial diadem from the hands of the pontiff.

[U. C. 1715.] Otho made his solemn ingress into that ancient capital, and was crowned and proclaimed emperor with magnificent ceremonies. The pope took the oath of fidelity to him; and the new

emperor, with the accompaniment of rich presents, confirmed to him the territorial grants previously made to the Roman church.

Thus was revived the imperial dignity, which from that time has devolved upon the princes of Germany.

While Otho held Berengarius and his consort strictly blockaded in a fortress near Urbino, the dishonest life of the pope, John XII., came to such a pass that the indignant Romans addressed themselves to that monarch, supplicating him to provide some restraint, now more than ever necessary for the sanctity of so sublime a minister. The pope, highly offended at the complaints of the citizens and at the lively remonstrances of the emperor, sharply complained to him that he, besieging Berengarius, should dare to violate with arms a dominion belonging to the church; and then, to mortify Otho, gave an asylum in Rome to the fugitive Adalbert, the son of Berengarius, and lent himself to the encouragement of his foolish hopes.

The emperor proceeded at once to Rome with a part of his army, where he convoked a council, and repeatedly cited the pope to appear and exculpate himself from the grave accusations which had accumulated against him.

John XII., having already secured the safety of himself and protegé by flight, responded by threatening to excommunicate the council. He was therefore deposed, and the proto-scriniary of the church, under the name of Leo VIII., was put in his place.

This deplorable affair terminated, Otho recommenced the siege of the fortress where Berengarius

held himself. The latter being finally compelled by famine to surrender, he was with his wife confined at Bamberga, where he died two years after.

Meanwhile, John XII., profiting by the absence of the emperor, and being sustained by numerous partisans, re-entered Rome, drove out Leo VIII., reassumed the pontifical tiara, and inflicted terrible vengeance upon those who were, or were suspected to be his enemies. But his triumph was short; severely wounded by a citizen whose wife he had seduced, he ceased to live, and relieved the world from so great a scandal.

[U. C. 1718.] The Romans, forgetful of their promises to the emperor, elected a new pope, who took the name of Benedict V.; the indignant monarch returned with his army to Rome, entered it by force of arms, caused the antipope to be deposed by a council, replaced Leo VIII. in the chair, and exiled the deposed pope in Germany, where he soon died.

Nor did Leo VIII. survive long. He was succeeded by John XIII., bishop of Nani. The citizens were dissatisfied with this pontiff also, and soon drove him ignominiously from the city, notwithstanding he was recognised, defended and protected by the imperial ambassadors.

Otho, highly irritated by this new outrage against his sovereign authority, and vowing signal vengeance, marched for the fourth time to Rome. At the news of his arrival, the Romans hastened to recall the exiled pontiff; but this late repentance did not calm the rage of the angry monarch. Having entered Rome, he caused the tribunes of the people to be

bound, banished the two consuls, plucked out the eyes of some citizens, scourged others with rods, and committed such other acts of cruelty as gravely to contaminate his memory.

This prince aspired to unite to the western empire all the territory in the south of Italy which yet obeyed the sceptre of the East. At first he attempted to effect his object by a negotiation, proposing the marriage of Theophania, daughter of Romanus, emperor of Constantinople, with his own son Otho. But the pride of that sovereign, sustained by the animosity of Adalbert, who had found refuge in that court, caused the proposition to be contemptuously rejected.

[U. C. 1722.] The two emperors then came to an open rupture, and the German troops invaded Apulia and Calabria. The Greek army was routed in battle, and soon there would no longer have remained to the emperor of the East a rood of land in that country, had not the ill success of the war imprudently undertaken against the German monarch humbled his Eastern pride.

The negotiations were then renewed, and the proposed espousals concluded, which added to the vast dominions of Otho the sovereignty of the duchy of Capua. The union of the royal pair was solemnly celebrated in Rome, accompanied by magnificent festivals. The emperor did not long survive this event. He died the following year, leaving behind him such a reputation for valour and wisdom that posterity has not hesitated to attribute to him the surname of the Great.

To this prince succeeded in the empire his son Otho II., who was recognised by all the states of Germany and Italy without obstacle.

[U. C. 1727.] Rome about this time again became the theatre of horrible disturbances. The pontiff, Benedict VI., was suddenly dragged from the papal chair by the ambitious Cardinal Boniface. This prelate, favoured by the independent faction at whose head figured Crescentius, who proposed to himself nothing less than the re-establishment of the Roman republic, caused the unfortunate Benedict to be strangled in prison, usurped the tiara, and was acknowledged by his accomplices under the name of the seventh Boniface. Expelled from Rome one month after for his mad excesses, Benedict VII. was made his successor.

Meanwhile the new emperor meditated a descent into Italy for the purpose of composing the affairs of the church, and above all for reuniting under his sceptre the few places there which were yet occupied by the Greeks.

[U. C. 1733.] He in fact crossed the Alps, and reuniting his army, marched rapidly towards Calabria. The Greeks, frightened by the approaching whirlwind, and not feeling sufficiently strong to resist its impetus, called to their aid the Saracens of Sicily and Africa, who, interested in putting a stop to the progress of the imperial power in this direction, promptly repaired to their assistance in great numbers. The emperor took possession of Tarento, but meeting the barbarians in battle, he remained totally discomfited after a most obstinate engage-

ment, being solely indebted to the fleetness of his horse for his own escape from captivity or death. While he was in Rome, collecting all his forces for the formation of a new army with which to wipe off the stain of his defeat, he was attacked with a mortal sickness, and died in that capital.

He had for successor his son Otho III., who ascended the throne at the age of only four years. At the same time the pope Benedict VII. died at Rome, and was succeeded by Peter, bishop of Pavia, under the name of John XIV. But the infamous Boniface, no longer restrained by fear of the emperor, returned to Rome; there, supported by his partisans, he laid sacrilegious hands upon the august pontiff, put him to death in prison, and a second time placed upon his own impious head the tiara which he had already contaminated by so many crimes. Overtaken very soon, however, by sudden death, he expired amid the maledictions of the inhabitants, who in their unbounded rage dragged his disfigured corpse through the streets, and thence threw it into the Tiber.

[U. C. 1738.] The credit of Crescentius went on increasing from day to day, and, craftily profiting by the disorders of some of the pontiffs, he diminished their influence in like proportion. He reminded the Romans of their ancient glory; studied to rekindle a national pride in their breasts; and argued that it would be neither impossible nor difficult to cause the Roman republic to rise from its ashes. Having obtained the title of patrician, the consular dignity was afterward conferred upon him; and he dexterously

availed himself of both the title and dignity to elevate his power above that of the pontiffs and the emperors.

John XV., continually disquieted by the new consul in the exercise of his pontifical authority, felt himself constrained to leave Rome and seek an asylum in Tuscany, whence he invoked the imperial protection. Crescentius, alarmed by this measure, and fearing its consequences, hastened to recall the fugitive pontiff to Rome.

[U. C. 1749.] The young emperor, Otho III., this year received the imperial crown in the ancient capital of the world from the hands of Pope Gregory V., successor to John XV., to avenge whose memory Crescentius had been sent into exile; but he was afterward pardoned by the emperor at the solicitation of the good Pontiff Gregory.

No sooner, however, had the monarch turned his back for the purpose of repairing to Germany, where important affairs required his presence, than Crescentius, forgetting the good offices rendered him by the pontiff, and paying him with ingratitude, compelled him to leave Rome and seek refuge in Pavia. The indignant Gregory hurled against the seditious tribune the thunders of the church, which did not at all deter him from the execution of his designs. To that end he made an alliance with John of Calabria, called Filagate, whom he induced his partisans to proclaim pope under the name of John XVI.; and they made an arrangement between themselves that John should enjoy all the spiritual authority, the temporal power remaining entirely in the hands of Crescentius.

The emperor, grieved by such news, and moved by the reiterated applications of Pope Gregory V., determined to make a descent into Italy for the purpose of putting an end to the turbulence which agitated the ecclesiastical territories. Before transferring himself to Rome, he visited Venice, then resplendent with the military glory which had been acquired in the warlike enterprises of her doge, Peter Arseolo, destroyer of the Narentine pirates who had desolated her commerce, and founder of the Venetian dominion upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

[U. C. 1751.] Otho, after having admired the beauty, the industry, and the activity of this wonderful city, proceeded towards Rome accompanied by Gregory V. On the annunciation of this news, Crescentius retired to the strong monument known under the name of the tomb or mole of Adrian, and which, at the present day, being surrounded by fortifications, is called Castle St. Angelo. The antipope, John, attempted to escape the imperial indignation by flight, but he was followed and overtaken, and by the fury of the people deprived of his nose, tongue, and eyes; he was then placed on a mule, facing backward, and was thus taken through all the streets of the city.

Crescentius, fearing for the security of his asylum, surrendered on condition that his life should be spared. The compact was not observed, however, and he, with twelve of his companions, lost his head.

Calm and tranquillity had hardly been re-estab-

lished in Rome, when the Pontiff Gregory V. was taken from the number of the living in the flower of his age. He was succeeded, in accordance with the recommendation of the emperor, by Gerbert, archbishop of Rheims and preceptor of Gregory, who took the name of Sylvester II.

[U. C. 1753.] After the death of Gregory, Otho abandoned himself entirely to an extravagant devotion. His spirit was shaken by some inexplicable vertigo; he multiplied prayers, fasts and pilgrimages, not less than rich gifts to churches and monasteries; and neglected his affairs to such a degree that a sedition excited by the not extinct party of Crescentius was able to compel him to leave the city.

Meanwhile Stephania, widow of the deceased tribune, nourished against him an immeasurable hatred and an ardent desire to avenge the death of her betrayed husband and the outrages committed upon herself by a brutal soldiery.

Indifferent as to the means of accomplishing her desires, she found a way to approach the monarch and become his confidant, when she administered to him a powerful poison which destroyed his life at the age of twenty-three.

The Saxon house of the Othos became extinct with the death of Otho III. It gave three monarchs to Italy; but, constrained by the exigencies of their German interests to remain too long absent from this country, every principle of unity in the government was almost entirely lost. The authority of the monarch was in these times reduced to the least possible amount. All power resided essentially in the nobility,

the bishops and the abbots, who, with full and absolute power, governed their dominions according to their own will. The cities which were not in the fiefs of feudal lords made their own laws, elected their own municipal government, and the people selected the magistrates. Such an absence of unity in a monarchical government must necessarily, and did in fact, produce the dissolution of the Italian monarchy. And since the same effects always proceed from the same causes, so from the weakening of the principle of unity were seen to rise in France the Bretons, the Normans, the Burgundians, &c., which have more or less distinguished themselves among the French, properly so called. In like manner we shall shortly see in Italy, no longer Italians, but Venetians, Milanese, Genoese, Florentines, &c., &c.; no longer a people, but nobles, ecclesiastics, and citizens; no longer a nation, but republics, differing from and often opposing each other in principles, views, and interests.

[U. C. 1755.] The third Otho dead, the Italian nobles, tired of a distant foreign dominion, determined to have a king of their own nation, and elected Ardoin, marquis of Ivrea. Henry II. of Bavaria, who aspired to the imperial heritage of the Othos, was filled with grief and anger at this election; and although he had not effectively, as a prince of Germany, any right to the Italian throne, nevertheless, he considered himself to have a most just one from the fact of the German princes having been accustomed to reign in Italy. Flattering himself, therefore, and not without reason, with the idea of having a strong party there, and yet not being

able to present himself in person, he sent to them Otho, duke of Carinthia, with many troops, to encourage his partisans with this demonstration to declare themselves openly.

Otho descended, in fact, from the Marca Trevisana, but being assailed by Ardoin before he could effect a junction with the malecontents, he was so completely defeated as to be hardly able to effect a retreat into Germany with a few followers. Nevertheless, this victory was of no advantage to the affairs of Ardoin, since he had many enemies among the nobility, and was hated by the pope, the clergy, and above all by the Archbishop of Milan, Arnolph II., to whose pretensions and interests he had had very little regard.

[U. C. 1765.] And this he plainly saw when, upon the invitation of Benedict VIII., his rival, Henry II., arrived in Italy. Abandoned by nearly all his adherents, Ardoin wrestled for a short time with his bad fortune, but finally yielding to the troubles of his tempestuous reign, he fell sick and died in the religious habit in a monastery.

Henry, freed from the inquietudes which the activity of his rival did not fail to give him, although so much weakened, transferred himself to Rome, where he re-established the papal authority in its original extent, it having been much restricted by the popular magistrates; then, having received from the pontiff the imperial diadem as a recompense, he returned to Germany.

If Venice already shone through the extension of her commerce, her ample riches, and the glory of her

belligerent enterprises, two other republics, those of Pisa and Genoa, began also in these times to assume great importance. These, with a considerable fleet, gave a heavy blow to the Saracens in Calabria, Sicily, and Sardinia, and entirely liberated that island from the barbarian yoke. But if these and other Italian cities had for a common interest united against a common enemy, that enemy being conquered or momentarily removed, their own particular interests again predominated in their minds; their conquering swords, yet red with foreign blood, were reciprocally aimed at each other's breasts, lacerating the bosom of the country with fratricidal strife, and exposing it to the attacks and fetters of ferocious oppressors, who descended from every side to dispute its possession. This is the wretched picture that Italy will henceforth offer us for many centuries, until, humbled by her sufferings, and deprived of all energy and moral force, abandoning herself with resignation or recklessness to the yoke which we shall see was imposed upon her—no longer remembering her ancient valour, glory, and independence—she consented to be expunged from the list of nations.

[U. C. 1780.] To Henry II. succeeded Conrad, called the Salic, who hastened to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the pontiff. Thence he departed to dispute the kingdom of Burgundy with Eude, count of Champagne. Italy being thus abandoned to itself, fell into every disorder that could arise from the pride and ambition of the nobles, from the corruption of ecclesiastical discipline, and from the ferment of the people, who were indignant against

a yoke which had become as contemptible as it was odious. Nobles, bishops, and citizens rose up against each other, and covered the territories of Lombardy with blood and slaughter.

[U. C. 1790.] Conrad, recalled to Italy by so many evils, convoked a general diet at Pavia, which decreed the imprisonment of Eribert, the archbishop of Milan, and the exile of the Bishops of Vercelli, of Cremona, and of Placentia, disturbers of the public peace.

Eribert succeeded in fleeing to Milan, where he was triumphantly received by his adherents; the emperor did not venture to besiege him there, but proceeded to Rome, and induced Pope Benedict X. solemnly to excommunicate him; but he submitted neither to the spiritual power of the pope nor to the temporal power of the emperor.

Before marching against Milan, the emperor wished to compose the difficulties that had arisen between the monks of Monte Cassino and the Duke of Capua; from the latter he took the dukedom and conferred it upon the Prince of Salerno. Obliged then to retire into Germany to avoid the pest that had destroyed a portion of his troops, Conrad died at Colonia, leaving his throne to his son Henry III.

[U. C. 1806.] The Normans, (men of the north,) after having by slaughter and rapine extended the terror of their name over many parts of Europe, poured in upon the southern territories of Italy about this time, spreading there the most horrible desolation and alarm. The good Pontiff Leo IX., moved by pity for this wretched population, the victims of

the most atrocious cruelty, called the faithful to arms, and he himself marched courageously at their head against these ferocious robbers.

Whether the Deity disapproved of the zeal of the pontiff, to whom ecclesiastical discipline did not authorize the use of earthly arms, or whether the troops he commanded fought badly in this encounter, certain it is that the army of the church was entirely defeated in a most sanguinary conflict, leaving the pope himself a prisoner in the hands of the barbarians. They, however, far from ill-treating him, full of respect for his august presence, humiliated themselves before him, and begged at his feet absolution for the past and the investiture of the fiefs they had conquered; all which being obtained, they reconducted him honourably to Rome.

[U. C. 1807.] The Emperor Henry III., jealous of the power of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, who, in consequence of his marriage with Beatrice, the widow of the Count Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, had united with his states the vast dominions of this princess, came this year into Italy to watch his conduct more nearly.

Godfrey sent his consort to meet him; but all she could say could not dissipate the distrust of the suspicious monarch, who detained her with him as a hostage.

Meanwhile the pontiff, yielding to the grief occasioned by the deplorable schism of the Greek church, which, perhaps more through politics and ambition than for any difference in doctrine, had entirely separated from the Latin church, and yet

more weighed down by the sad remembrance of his disastrous expedition against the Normans, died universally lamented. His successor was the Bishop of Heichstadt, who took the name of Victor II.

[U. C. 1810.] Attacked by the pest in Germany, where he had returned, the emperor also died; nor did the new pontiff, to whom he had confided his Italian affairs, long survive him. Frederic, a brother of the Duke of Lorraine and Marquis of Tuscany, ascended the papal chair under the name of Stephen IX.

This pontiff occupied himself in extinguishing the practice of making merchandise of holy things by buying and selling church preferment, and in reconducting the clergy to the practice of celibacy; but the great idea which was above all fixed in his mind was that of liberating Italy from the dominion of foreigners, and constituting in this country a power sufficiently strong to repulse them whenever they might penetrate there for purposes of conquest. He contemplated, however, placing the royal and imperial crown upon the head of his brother, and had already taken various measures with that view, when death came to surprise him in the midst of schemes which promised to produce the most happy consequences to Italy.

The election of a new pope gave rise to a series of disturbances in Rome. A council having been convoked in Siena for the purpose of terminating them, the pontifical tiara was given by it to the Bishop of Florence, who took the name of Nicolas II.

[U. C. 1812.] On his arrival at Rome, the new

pope convened in St. John Lateran another council of one hundred and thirty bishops, and there it was decided that thereafter the cardinals should be charged with the election of the pope. This decision was gratifying to the people, and was finally sanctioned by the consent of the emperor.

The Pontiff Nicolas found the Normans seriously disgusted with the holy see at the time of his accession. That wary personage wished to make of those brave warriors, already somewhat softened by the mildness of the climate, the most zealous champions of the church; and accomplished his object by granting to Robert Guiscard, their leader, the sovereignty of the lands conquered, or which he might be able to conquer, in Italy and in Sicily, which was then almost entirely occupied by the Saracens.

The most serious dissensions were excited in these days, and much blood was shed in various parts of Italy, on the question of the celibacy and matrimonial eligibility of ecclesiastics; and as if these questions were not sufficient to produce confusion and discord, the death of Nicolas kindled other ardent disputes between the partisans of the imperial authority and those of the independence of the holy see. The celebrated Cardinal Hildebrand declared himself the champion of the latter, and by his eloquence influenced the other cardinals to elect and enthrone, without waiting for the imperial consent, the Bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II.

The court of Germany was most indignant at this proceeding; and, turning to account the aversion

which the Lombard clergy nourished against the holy see on account of the spirit of reform and severity by which it had for some time been directed, favoured the election of an antipope. The choice falling upon Cardol, bishop of Parma, he was promoted under the name of Honorius II.

[U. C. 1815.] Honorius marched at once to Rome at the head of an army to dethrone the pontiff; but defeated by Godfrey, duke of Tuscany, who defended his rival, he paid a price in gold for liberty to retire with the remains of his troops. Irritated by the censures fulminated against him by an ecclesiastical council, Honorius again attempted the culpable enterprise, and succeeded in entering Rome; there, overcome by a violent revolt, he saved himself in the tower of Crescentius, (the mole of Adrian,) where he languished two years a prisoner.

END OF THE THIRD EPOCH.

FOURTH EPOCH.

FROM THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY VII. TO THAT OF JULIUS II.

In the course of the preceding epoch we have seen the popes proceed craftily, and apparently unobserved, in laying the foundations of a future and not far distant sovereignty. In this we shall see them definitively arrived at the end proposed, uniting in their sacred right hands the profane with the mystical and apostolical sceptre.

It is true that Jesus Christ taught his disciples that his kingdom was not of this world; it is true that it could not have been his intention that his successors should put in operation, in succeeding ages, all those means by which an earthly power is obtained; it is true that, rigorously speaking, the temporal sovereignty of the popes seems diametrically opposed to the evangelical doctrine which enjoins upon the Christian humility and a contempt for earthly greatness; but it is true, also,

1st. That no one could reasonably expect or hope from the successors of Christ—men like ourselves, and, however virtuous they might have been, yet like us subject to all human frailty—the supreme perfection of the divine Founder of Christianity.

2d. That in the universal disorder of the barbarous ages, when virtue, right, and reason were obliged to bend or disappear under the iron sceptre of a brutal force, we ought not to blame those high pontiffs for seeking their own personal safety and that of an infinite number of others who were weak and defenceless, in a temporal and independent sovereignty.

And oh! would that it had pleased Heaven to inflame them with a more ardent love of a country, if not of their birth, at least of their adoption, and by elevating their thoughts to a most noble object, induce them to reunite all Italy under the standard of St. Peter, so that, with a firm and wise government, they might have restored and maintained its precious national independence! They would thus have banished those atrocious discords, the first and sole cause of her fatal dismemberment. But they, perhaps, did too much in their clerical and too little in their princely characters. They did not foresee that their spiritual arms would be blunted by too frequent use, and that at a later period they would become insufficient, not only for the protection of others, but even for their own defence; and that, despoiled of these formidable means, their temporal power would remain too small to guaranty the safety of Italy and their own independence from an overbearing foreign force. But history discloses these truths, and, in fact, in our own times, we have seen some of the last pontiffs suffering the penalty of the improvidence of their remote predecessors, and being, on account of their weak and precarious independence,

dragged by violent hands from the throne, and tossed about here and there during the terrible convulsions which have shaken Europe to its foundations.

[U. C. 1826.] Alexander II. having expired, the celebrated Cardinal Hildebrand was elected in his place, and assumed the name of Gregory VII. The new pope was a man of great mind, endowed with vast talents, and was inflexible in what he considered the rights of the Roman church. A rigid observer of ecclesiastical discipline, he fulminated excommunications against Simonists and the married ecclesiastics; and even with arms he compelled Robert Guiscard to acknowledge himself a vassal of the church, and to receive from him the investiture of those estates which he held by the right of conquest.

It was precisely this right of conferring investiture which originated the deplorable war that broke out in these times between the emperor and the priesthood.

The ecclesiastics, both regular and secular, had in times past been made rich by grants from the nobles and princes of immense feudal territories.

The Emperor Henry IV. claimed the right of conferring the investiture of each dominion, as belonging to the temporal authority; while, desirous of permanently shielding the clergy from the influence of the secular power, Gregory sustained the contrary.

As each of these was resolute in maintaining his own opinion by every available means, their disagreement could not fail to result in open discord, so much the more lamentable as it could not fail

eventually to produce effects most fatal to religion.

The first hostilities came from Henry; having convoked a diet in Worms, he proposed there that the pope should be deposed. To this Gregory replied by launching a terrible excommunication against the prince and his abetters, by virtue of which he was declared to have forfeited his throne, and all his subjects were absolved from every oath of fidelity.

[U. C. 1829.] Here was seen an extraordinary phenomenon. While the frightened prelates, clergy, and people of Germany, horrorstruck at the sight of an excommunicated sovereign, tremblingly separated themselves from him and left him in a state of the most perfect abandonment, the Italian prelates, clergy and people strongly sustained the rights of the emperor, and, rising against the papal authority, hurled back the excommunication of the pope against that pontiff himself.

But Henry was conquered by the pope in Germany, and to preserve his tottering throne was compelled to submit and to implore absolution at the feet of the severe pontiff in Canosa.

A forced reconciliation, accompanied by the most humiliating circumstances, could not be, especially on the part of Henry, either sincere or durable. Both parties, in fact, soon resumed hostilities.

The emperor in a short time disregarded the conditions imposed upon him by the pope; upon which the latter renewed the censure against him, declared his throne vacant, and gave it to Rodolph

of Swabia, and, to the celestial uniting earthly arms, sustained by the troops of the celebrated Countess Matilda of Tuscany, and other powerful feudatories in Italy, he made war upon the partisans of the emperor.

[U. C. 1833.] Henry, on his side, having vanquished and killed his rival Rodolph, descended triumphantly into Italy; he caused the deposition of Gregory VII. to be pronounced, and the title of pope to be conferred upon the Archbishop of Ravenna under the name of Clement III., and then, overcoming every obstacle, laid siege to Rome. He was soon received into the city by the Romans, who were disgusted with the pontiff, who, entirely abandoned, had shut himself up in the tomb of Adrian; and, having enthroned the antipope, received from him the imperial crown.

Guiscard, the head of the Normans in the kingdom of Naples, moved by the prayers of the pope, and yet more by jealousy at the near vicinity of Henry, marched to the rescue of the pontiff. The emperor, who did not feel himself sufficiently strong to resist this new opponent, removed from Rome. The Norman having entered the city, either to avenge upon the Romans their abandonment of Gregory, or because he could not restrain the licentious military, abandoned the whole city, from the gate of St. John to the Coliseum, to fire and sword, and caused the inhabitants to suffer all the horrors of a cruel and devastating war.

[U. C. 1838.] The pope, dejected by his misfortunes, and believing himself no longer secure in

the conquered city, followed Robert Guiscard to Salerno, and there terminated his stormy career.

This pope was a great man, and could be reproached with no fault except that of having, in his profound conviction, pushed beyond measure the contested rights of the holy see, and kindled a war which occasioned infinite scandals and disasters.

After his death, Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, was elevated to the pontifical throne, and governed the church under the name of Victor III.

[U. C. 1842.] The death of Gregory did not terminate the war. It was obstinately sustained by the Countess Matilda, to whom fortune was at first so adverse that she lost nearly all her dominions. But the rebellion of Conrad against the Emperor Henry, his father, and the defection of the principal cities of Lombardy—both provoked by her crafty management—gave her advantages which she improved so well that the imperial troops were defeated in divers engagements, and so discouraged by the excommunications of Urban II., the successor of Victor III., that Henry was compelled to repass the Alps and retire into Germany. There, dethroned by his own son, Henry V., who had already been associated with him as emperor, he died, overwhelmed with humiliations and outrages, reduced to a dependance upon the public pity, and not finding even a tomb for the repose of his unfortunate bones, which for a long time lay abandoned in an angle of a church at Liege.

[U. C. 1859.] Some years before the death of this unhappy prince, the pope had published against

the infidels the first of those crusades which, repeatedly precipitating Europe against Asia, caused, in the course of three centuries, the shedding of torrents of human blood, and that without the least advantage to the religion in the name of which they were undertaken. The merchants and the monasteries alone derived benefit from them, because by their means they gained immense wealth.

The Lombard cities did not let pass the favourable occasion offered them by the decline of the imperial influence in Italy; they shook off every yoke, rendered themselves independent, and thenceforth governed themselves under republican forms. Happy would it have been could they have always remained connected together by the ties of a sound and infrangible alliance! But the destiny which awaited the Grecian, enables us already to presage that of the Italian republics.

[U. C. 1864.] The grand question of the investiture was not yet, however, terminated between the emperor and the priesthood. Henry V., being resolved to decide it in favour of the empire, descended with an army into Italy and moved towards Rome. The intimidated pontiff, Pascal, to extricate the priesthood from their embarrassment and put an end to the contest, proposed to Henry to restore the fiefs and lands to their original possessors.

Henry accepted with joy the unexpected proposition, and entered Rome to hasten its execution, where he was received with pomp and magnificence by the pontiff. But the arrangement becoming public, the clergy protested loudly, and energetically

opposed themselves to the alienation of the temporal dominions. Henry, irritated, and supposing himself trifled with by the pontiff, possessed himself of his person, and also of many prelates and cardinals, and took them with him as prisoners. The people, furious at the news, assailed the Germans and sustained against them a conflict which terminated but with the day. Henry, not wishing to wait for another assault, departed from Rome. The pontiff, vanquished, according to some authors, by prayers, and according to others, by his fears, yielded the right of investiture, on the condition however that the elections of the clergy should be made freely and without simony.

The contest being terminated and peace established for the present, the pope placed the imperial diadem upon the head of Henry V.: he then returned to Rome, and the emperor passed into Lombardy, and thence to Germany.

[U. C. 1870.] A peace so concluded could not, however, be permanent between the heads of the church and the empire. Although the pontiff, for the sake of tranquillity, might grant to Henry whatever he desired, yet it was impossible for him to conquer the opposition of the clergy, and the spiritual and temporal arms were brandished anew in divers places. In this interval died the celebrated Countess Matilda, who by her will left extensive dominions and great riches to the Roman church.

[U. C. 1874.] The antipope Bardinus, who, under the name of Gregory VIII., had sustained the interests of the emperor in Italy, being van-

quished after various vicissitudes, and fallen into the power of the pope, Calixtus II., and moreover discouraged by the defection of the clergy and people of Lombardy who had become reconciled with the holy see, Henry finally listened to the counsels of his barons, and definitively renounced the right of investiture. It was then, in a solemn diet, convoked at Worms, established—

That the princes should cease to confer ecclesiastical benefices with the gift of the ring and of the crosier, symbols of ecclesiastical power:

That the royal fiefs and estates belonging to the clergy, and sequestered by Henry IV. and by the reigning Henry V., should be restored to the church:

That in Germany the bishops and abbots should be elected under the influence of the secular sovereignty, excluding every act of violence and of simony:

And finally, that the newly elected bishops and abbots should be held to receive the investiture of the royal estates annexed to their benefices, by means of the transmission of the sceptre, an emblem of temporal power.

[U. C. 1875.] From this deplorable contest, which for the period of about fifty years filled Italy with contentions and the church with scandal, originated the two celebrated factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines; the latter always ready to favour the imperial cause, and the former as strongly attached to the pontifical interest. The Guelph faction received their name from several princes called Guelphs, who, seconding the management of the pontifical

court at the German diet after the death of the fifth Henry, caused the election to fall upon Lothario, duke of Saxony, to the exclusion of Frederic of Hohenstaufen, his nephew; and the Ghibelines received theirs from the castle of Geibeling, near Augsburg, belonging to the direct branch of the Augustuses.

[U. C. 1886.] The wars which had for many years existed between the Milanese and the Comaschi, and the Genoese and the Pisans, were about this time terminated by treaties of peace; but others more grave sprung up in consequence of the simultaneous election of two popes, Innocent II. and Anaclete II.; the former sustained by the emperor Lothario, and the latter by Roger, king of Sicily. Neither negotiations nor arms were sufficient to extinguish this deplorable schism. While, however, Innocent II., universally recognised as the legitimate pope, marched in person at the head of an army against Roger, for the purpose of avenging his hostile conduct, and reconducting him to obedience to the holy see, he was entangled and defeated by the troops of that monarch, and remained his prisoner: nor could he liberate himself from captivity but by yielding to the pretensions of that prince, and according to him the sovereignty of Naples, which became from that day the capital of a new realm.

[U. C. 1892.] While the pope so unsuccessfully warred against Roger, the famous Arnold of Brescia was preaching the reform of the church with powerful eloquence, and severely censuring the morals of the clergy and their abuse of temporal power. Ex-

communicated by the council of Lateran, he fled into Switzerland and continued to preach at Zurich; having returned thence into Italy after a brief triumph, he there met his death.

[U. C. 1898.] Rome had often vainly attempted, by now shaking off the influence and now the dominion of the pontiffs, to re-establish the ancient form of government. About this time they renewed the attempt. They created a senate and elected a popular magistrate under the title of patrician.

The Pontiff Lucius opposed the innovation, and, supported by his partisans, proceeded in procession at the head of the clergy to the capitol, to dissolve the new senate. But the ardour of opposing passions soon burst forth in horrible tumults and open conflict; the pontiff himself, being struck on the head with a stone, ceased shortly after to live.

Eugenius III., unable of himself to subject the Romans, implored, with the promise of the imperial crown, the assistance of the new emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa. He accepted with avidity the opportunity offered him of extending his authority in Italy, where the proclaimed independence of the great cities appeared to him to be a revolt against the rights of his crown.

[U. C. 1907.] He accordingly descended into Lombardy with a powerful army, heard in the plain of Roncaglia the reclamations of the various cities contending the one against the other, devastated and subdued the territory of Milan, which refused to submit to his will, pillaged and devoted to the flames

Asti, Chieri, and Tortona, and, taking the iron crown at Pavia, proceeded at once to Rome.

He was met at Viterbo by Pope Adrian IV., and soon after by a deputation from the intimidated Roman senate, but pursued his march and entered the city without opposition, where he was solemnly crowned by the pope. But the citizens, offended at the contempt shown towards them by the monarch, and irritated by the brutality of his Germans, suddenly flew to arms and assailed the imperial army on every side. The latter, after a long contest, repulsed their attack. Frederic, however, not desiring a repetition of the assault, transferred himself and the pontiff to Tivoli. Nor did he remain there long, as a contagious disease commenced its ravages among his troops, and compelled him to hurry back to Germany.

[U. C. 1911.] Arrived there, he resolved to visit the Milanese with his vengeance for having obstinately refused to recognise the imperial sovereignty, and set about raising new troops. Forming an army more numerous than the first, he returned to Lombardy, and with more than 100,000 warriors laid siege to Milan. The strong and valorous city long resisted, although abandoned by all its allies, who were frightened by the terrible storm; it was compelled by famine, however, to submit and take the oath of fidelity to the emperor.

[U. C. 1912.] The war did not long cease. It was kindled more fiercely than ever, partly by the tyrannical and insupportable manner in which Frederic exercised over the Italian republics the rights of

sovereignty, and partly by the management of Pope Adrian, who was already at difference with the monarch because he not only refused to restore to the church the heritage left to it by the testament of the deceased Countess Matilda, but by means of his ministers imposed upon the patrimony of St. Peter itself the most insupportable exactions.

To the evils of a new war were added those of a new schism. Pope Adrian having died in the midst of his disputes with Frederic, two concurrent candidates disputed the pontificate. The greater and sounder portion of the clergy gave their suffrages to the Cardinal of St. Mark, who assumed the name of Alexander III.; the party of the senate and the nobility elected the ambitious Cardinal of St. Cecilia, known among the antipopes by the name of Victor IV. The latter, in a conventicle held at Pavia, was recognised by the emperor, who wished to use him as an instrument for the accomplishment of his political purposes; while nearly all Christendom considered Alexander III. as the true and legitimate pope.

After various favourable and unfavourable events, the Milanese, being no longer able to sustain themselves against the imperial army—now aided by reinforcements from Pavia, Novara, Como, Lodi, and Cremona, which cities, transported by an insane animosity, stupidly contributed to the fabrication of foreign chains for themselves—were obliged to succumb. The unfortunate city surrendering at discretion, the barbarous conquerors expelled the wretched inhabitants, and, in ten days after, that

superb city offered to the view of the astonished traveller no more than accumulated heaps of ruins.

In this horrible catastrophe, which brought to mind the devastating arm of Attila and of Genseric, all the precious ancient monuments with which Roman greatness had adorned the noble Milan perished; one only relic, one knows not how, remained amid the universal destruction, and still remains, standing before the church of San Lorenzo; it is, perhaps, the residue of an antique portico, of which we see one file of seventeen marble columns strongly bound together with bars of iron to impede their fall.

[U. C. 1915.] The ruin of the powerful city of Milan and the great increase of the imperial authority in Italy, very soon opened the eyes of the unwise republics to the fatal consequences with which they were menaced. Profiting by the excommunication which the pope, Alexander, launched against the emperor, they commenced by little and little to separate themselves from him. After having in vain besieged Ancona, which yet obeyed the emperor of the East, he marched to Rome to subject it to the new antipope, Pascal III.; meanwhile Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Ferrara, to whom afterward joined themselves Venice, Novara, Vercelli, Asti, Tortona, and the new city of Alexandria, formed with each other a strict and indissoluble alliance against the tyrannical power of Frederic.

[U. C. 1920.] This prince, who, after the expedition to Rome, had been recalled by the affairs

of Germany, and had delegated to the Archbishop of Christian, his vicar, the command of the few troops who had survived the slaughter of the war and the yet more murderous destruction of epidemic disease, on hearing the news of the formidable league of the Lombard cities collected a most powerful army, and again descended into Italy by the way of Mount Cenis. Having taken and burnt Susa, which vainly attempted to oppose the torrent, he hastened to besiege Alexandria. This city, although poorly fortified, repelled every assault for four months with invincible courage and with immense damage to the imperial troops, and finally forced the furious monarch to raise the siege and march against the allies who were collecting for its succour.

[U. C. 1929.] Being defeated by them, with great slaughter of his troops, at Legnano, and abandoned by his dispersed army, he hardly succeeded in reaching Pavia in disguise. There, deprived of every resource, he resorted to private negotiations with the pope, which, after long discussions, were finally closed in Venice, the pontiff and emperor agreeing—

[U. C. 1930.] That the latter should renounce the schism:

That Frederic should be absolved from the incurred censure:

That, thenceforward, there should be a durable and perfect peace between the emperor and the church:

Finally, that there should be a truce of fifteen

years with the King of Sicily, and of six years with the Lombard cities.

The cities complained loudly of this abandonment of the pope, and of the private peace by him concluded with the Austrian monarch; but as what was done could not be undone, they also continued the negotiations, and finally a peace was established between them and the emperor at Constance, which secured to them all their rights upon the condition that the magistrates of the republics should receive from the emperors the investiture of their dignities.

[U. C. 1939.] While the negotiations respecting the contested heritage of the Countess Matilda continued between Pope Urban III. and the emperor, without the appearance of possible accord, the nuptials of Henry VI., son of the emperor, and the Princess Constance, heir of the states of William II., king of the two Sicilies, were arranged and celebrated. The pontiff privately but ineffectually opposed this marriage, as he foresaw the future possible consequences of such an augmentation of power in one individual; which would have united to the sceptres of Germany and Lombardy that also of the southern part of Italy.

In fact, soon after, by the death of Frederic, which happened in Levant, and by that of William II., who had died a short time previously, Henry VI. united in himself alone, although not without dispute, that vast power: abusing which with acts of tyranny, he rendered himself odious to his subjects, to his allies, and finally to his consort herself. He died while making preparations, by advice of the

Pontiff Celestine III., to pass with an army into the Holy Land; being followed to the tomb by the Empress Constance, their child of only four years old, already crowned as Frederic II., was left as sole heir to the houses of Swabia and of Sicily.

[U. C. 1950.] Upper Italy was in these days lacerated by the civil wars between the Guelphs and Ghibelines, and between the commons and the feudatories; on account of the distance of the emperor, the imperial influence was nothing. Frederic had been, from the death of his mother, confided to the tutelage of the pope. The opportunity was most favourable for extending and consolidating the temporal dominion of the church, and it was not missed by that able pontiff, Innocent III., who had succeeded to the deceased Celestine. Having suppressed the Roman senate, he obtained an arrangement by which there was to be only one senator, whom he should select, and whose attributes and prerogatives he should establish; he constrained the prefect of the city, an officer of the emperor, to acknowledge no other authority but the pope's; he assumed the power of nominating the magistrates of all the cities situated in the patrimony of St. Peter; and finally, under the shadow of the testament of the Countess Matilda, subjugated important possessions to the ecclesiastical sovereignty.

While the pontiff was occupied with the cares of temporal aggrandizement, Otho IV., liberated at length from the affairs of Germany, descended into Italy, and came to receive in Rome the imperial diadem, which Innocent conferred upon him without

any apparent repugnance. But before long, the pope, whose jealousy had become aroused by his proceedings, raised up against him a rival in the person of the young Frederic, king of Sicily, and a formidable enemy in the French monarch, Philip Augustus.

In fact, notwithstanding all Otho could do to resist the enmity of the pontiff, he was pursued by excommunications which caused a great number of his partisans to separate from him, and was then entirely defeated by the French in the sanguine and memorable battle of Bovines, where he had the mortification of seeing, before his death, a majority of the suffrages of the electors given in favour of his fortunate rival.

Honorius III., who succeeded to the third Innocent, placed the imperial diadem upon the forehead of the second Frederic; not, however, before having obtained the promise, confirmed by the strongest oaths, that he would proceed to Palestine to combat for the cause of religion, and cede to his son Henry, already born to him by Constance of Aragon, the realm of Apulia and Sicily; a condition was also attached, that the new king should receive his kingdom from the holy see, and acknowledge his sole and entire dependance upon the pope.

Frederic made as many promises as the pontiff desired, secretly determined within himself not to keep one of them; hence an open rupture between him and Honorius, and afterward with Gregory IX.; hence hostility, menaces, and excommunications.

[U. C. 1978.] Yet Frederic, having lost his consort Constance, and espoused Yolanda, daughter of John of Brienne, titulary king of Jerusalem, urged less by his vows than by the desire of uniting to his kingdom that also of Jerusalem, finally consented to proceed to the Holy Land, whence having returned, he forced the pope to beg for peace.

[U. C. 1981.] Concord being thus re-established between the respective heads of the empire and the priesthood, they reunited both celestial and terrestrial arms against the heretics, whom they most fiercely persecuted; many of these unfortunate people perished in the flames, and yet more extensive would have been the work of their extermination, had not the new war, kindled between the emperor and the Lombard cities, withdrawn the attention of Frederic from them.

The Ghibelines, finding themselves unable to resist the Guelph party, by whom they were oppressed, implored, therefore, the assistance of the emperor, who was already highly indignant against the Lombard league, by which he saw with grief his own sovereign authority trodden under foot.

[U. C. 1990.] Marching against the Lombards, at the head of a powerful army, composed of Germans, Saracens, and exiled Ghibelines, he attacked the Milanese—who, with a part of their allies, first opposed him—defeated and obtained a complete victory over them. But they were less discouraged by their defeat than irritated by the pride and barbarity of Frederic, and determined to conquer or die; while alarmed at the increase of the imperial

power, the Venetians, the Genoese, and with them the pontiff, formed a strict alliance with the Milanese against the emperor.

The admonitions and excommunications of Pope Gregory IX. rained upon the proud emperor. The pope absolved his subjects from their oaths of fidelity, declaring him to have forfeited the throne; he also set himself about raising up Robert, brother of Louis king of France, a powerful rival, who, to the terror of the papal censures added the force of arms, yet more efficacious in ejecting him from the throne. Louis would not permit his brother to enter into so rough a contest; and Frederic, on his side, caused a long apology to be published by his chancellor *Pier delle Vigne*, to clear himself from the pontifical accusations: then, to avenge himself upon the court of Rome, he commenced a cruel persecution of the ecclesiastical fraternity, sending some into exile and despoiling others of their wealth, and imposing the most intolerable contributions upon the churches. Nor did this content him: he also excited serious tumults in Rome against the pontiff himself, who became so exasperated that he declared that he would thenceforth never hear suggested either peace or concord with the Austrian monarch.

Gregory, however, stung to the soul by so many calamities, and above all, by the defection of Cardinal Colonna, who had withdrawn from papal obedience and devoted himself to Frederic, died, and was succeeded by Celestine IV., who also died in a few days after his elevation, and was succeeded by Innocent IV.

[U. C. 1994.] After various warlike movements, after long and ineffectual negotiations, after a new and more solemn excommunication of Frederic by the council collected at Lyons by the new pontiff, the former resolved vigorously to prosecute the war, and laid siege to Parma, with the determination not to abandon it until the city was either taken by assault or surrendered at discretion. If the attacks were terrible, and accompanied by acts of horrid barbarity, not less terrible was the defence, nor less cruel the reprisals, during that long siege.

[U. C. 2001.] The inhabitants of Parma being finally succoured by numerous allies, issued suddenly and impetuously from the city, vigorously assailed the German army, and completely defeated it with great slaughter. They then carried by assault the fortress which, as a good augury to the enterprise, Frederic had named the Victory, and possessed themselves of the treasure and imperial paraphernalia; after which they set fire to the fortress and reduced it to ashes. The emperor, who at the time of the assault was amusing himself with the chase, overwhelmed by the sudden and terrible reverse, fled into Tuscany, and thence into Apulia, where, either by the grief occasioned by his misfortunes, or by the violence of his illegitimate son Manfred, afterward king of Sicily and Apulia—he died.

[U. C. 2003.] The news of the death of Frederic II. having spread, Pope Innocent IV. returned triumphantly to Italy, and with equal haste called Conrad from Germany, to receive his paternal herit-

age. There he was received by Eccelino da Romano, the imperial vicar, a monster whose cruelty equalled, if it did not exceed that of the Neros, the Caligulas, and the Domitians; Ariosto has depicted him in two lines of his immortal poem:—

> "Ezzellino, immanissimo tiranno,
> Che fia creduto figlio del demonio," &c.;

and Dante has represented him as immersed in blood in the *Inferno*:—

> "E quella fronte, ch'ha'l pel così nero,
> E Azzolino . . . . . ."

Conrad, reinforced by a great number of the troops of Eccelino, embarked upon the Venetian fleet and sought Apulia by sea, in order to avoid the obstacles which the Guelphs and the pope might have thrown in his way by land. Here, with the assistance of Manfred, he recovered Capua and Naples, which through the management of Innocent had rebelled; but in a short time his severe and oppressive government alienated the minds of all. Influenced by ambitious jealousy, he rid himself of his young brother Henry by poison; and he himself fell a short time after, and by a similar death, the victim of the ambitious Manfred.

[U. C. 2007.] Meanwhile Innocent IV., being resolved to maintain the rights of the church over this kingdom, collected a numerous army from the Guelph cities of Lombardy, Romagna, and Tuscany, and moved towards Naples. Manfred, upon being thus unexpectedly assailed, not considering

himself able to resist by open force, and yet more doubting the faith of the people, whom he knew to be badly affected towards the house of Swabia, had recourse to negotiations. Being a profound dissimulater, although only twenty years of age, he managed to keep the pontiff at bay, until, on the occurrence of a favourable opportunity, he unexpectedly surprised and attacked the papal army, which he completely defeated and dispersed. The pope was so much afflicted by this unlooked for disaster, that he died at Naples, where the cardinals met and gave him for a successor Alexander IV.

The bad faith of Manfred, and the implacable anger which it excited in the pontifical court, rendered any accord impossible. The pope was compelled to remove from Naples, and retired into Anagni; and Manfred, master of all the provinces on both sides of the Faro, proclaimed himself king of Sicily, and caused himself to be solemnly crowned in Palermo.

The Ghibelines, who had been re-established in Florence by Frederic II., and then again expelled when the declining fortunes of that monarch enabled the Guelphs to triumph, now succeeded in effecting a re-entrance into their lost country, under the direction of Farinata degli Uberti. Reinforced by troops selected and sent to their aid by Manfred, they assailed the Guelpho-Florentine army on the banks of the Arbia, and although the latter were much the more numerous, they were broken and dispersed with the slaughter of more than ten thousand of their number. The Guelphs fled on every

side for safety, and the victorious Ghibelines employed every means to secure the triumph of their faction throughout Tuscany.

[U. C. 2013.] The pontifical court nourished a deep rancour against Manfred; nor was it extinguished, or even diminished, by the change of pontiff. The latter resolved to avenge the treachery of that prince, and at the same time to establish his rights and pretensions upon the realm; but, not confiding too much in spiritual arms—which by much use had diminished in power—he determined to select for his vindicator Charles of Anjou, who, more ambitious and less scrupulous than his brother, the good Louis IX., king of France, accepted the offered crown of Sicily with avidity, and finally succeeded in obtaining the consent of his royal brother.

[U. C. 2017.] He therefore anxiously collected what force he could from his province of Anjou, and from Provence, which belonged to him as the heritage of his consort Beatrice, to which he united a large band of French adventurers who were desirous of signalizing themselves under so brave a warrior. Moving his army towards Italy by land, he embarked himself at Marseilles, and after incurring great perils, arrived by the Tiber at Rome, fortunately escaping the Pisan and Sicilian fleet, which had been driven off by a furious storm.

[U. C. 2018.] He was received as a son by Clement IV., then seated upon the pontifical throne, who crowned him king of Naples and Sicily, after having obtained from him a solemn renunciation of every right or pretension with regard to Lombardy

and upon the imperial crown, and after he had paid homage to the holy see for all the countries to be conquered by him, submitting, for himself and his successors, to an annual tribute and the annual offer of an ambling horse.

The Ghibelines, allies of Manfred, vainly opposed the passage of the invading army; favoured by the Guelphs—who with this powerful aid re-established their power in Florence and all Tuscany, from which the Ghibelines were again excluded—the troops of Charles arrived on the frontier, not only undiminished in numbers, but greatly increased by the warriors drawn to them through the desire of gaining for themselves the indulgences accorded by the pontiff to whomsoever should follow and combat for his champion.

One only battle, in which Manfred perished while desperately contending, and one only victory, rendered Charles the possessor of the disputed realm. But the proud and arrogant conduct of the victorious Anjouines, and the oppressive weight of the extraordinary taxes imposed, deeply disgusted the Apulians and Sicilians, who, in concurrence with the Ghibelines of Tuscany, Romagna and Lombardy, commenced secretly to plot against Charles I. in favour of Conradin. The latter was the son of Conrad, was the only heir of the house of Swabia and of Frederic II., and was already recognised as king in Germany.

This brave and spirited youth, notwithstanding the tender counsels of his mother, collected what troops he could in Germany, and made a descent into Italy.

Reinforced on the way by a great number of exiled Ghibelines and discontented Apulians and Sicilians, he attacked and defeated the army of Charles near Tagliacozzo; but the victorious Ghibelines disbanding themselves in pursuit of plunder, they were, while in that disorder, suddenly assailed by a reserve of eight hundred horse under the command of the veteran French captain Alardo, and not only was the victory lost, but the unhappy Conradin himself fell into the hands of the enemy, and was, by Charles's order, barbarously beheaded. Thus remaining the tranquil possessor of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, Charles of Anjou commenced a series of intrigues for the purpose of extending his power throughout Italy; and so well did he conduct them, that several cities recognised him as sovereign, and swore fidelity to him. The African crusade, to which he followed the king his brother, suspended for the time his projects upon Italy.

[U. C. 2025.] The good Pontiff Gregory X. attempted every means, and not always in vain, to restore peace to this unfortunate country, so long lacerated by constantly occurring civil discords. Desirous, besides, of counteracting the ambitious designs of the enterprising King Charles, he undertook to resuscitate the empire of the West, which had been a long time in abeyance, and, in fact, elevated to the imperial dignity Rodolph of Hapsburgh, the head of the present house of Austria.

While, however, the pontiff was managing with great activity and prudence for the re-establishment of peace among the Christians, and for the libera-

tion of the holy places of Palestine, he was suddenly overtaken by death, and the results of his cares, and the flattering hopes which had begun to be entertained in every direction, were buried with him in the tomb.

[U. C. 2029.] Having returned from his unfortunate African expedition, Charles ardently recommenced his artful efforts, which tended to nothing less than the acquisition of the sovereignty of the whole of Italy.

And perhaps he might have succeeded; but Pope Nicolas III. craftily opposed to him the Emperor Rodolph, who was about repairing to Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown; and by alternately threatening each to throw himself into the opposite party, he obtained from both the most important concessions.

In the midst, however, of his anxious efforts to maintain the equilibrium of the two rivals, and to extinguish the factions which desolated Italy, the pope died; and the intrigues of Charles bore to the pontificate the Cardinal of St. Cecilia, who assumed the name of Martin IV.

[U. C. 2034.] While the new pontiff, far from following in the steps of his predecessor, rekindled the war, and multiplied excommunications against the Ghibelines, for the purpose of favouring Charles, the bloody and total defeat of the Pisans by the Genoese, in the celebrated naval battle of Meloria, was a fatal blow to the republic of Pisa, from which she was never able to recover; she went on declining from day to day, gradually losing the splendour

she had acquired by her valorous enterprises. Subsequently falling under the atrocious tyranny of Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, she could liberate herself only by force; having taken him, his two sons and two nephews prisoners, they were all confined in a dungeon, and, by the advice of Archbishop Ruggieri, suffered to die of hunger.

By this time the severe government of Charles of Anjou had become odious and intolerable to the Sicilians; the insolence and unbridled license of his Provençals towards that people, already disposed for sedition, had kindled in their bosoms an animosity and rancour so profound that its terrible effects could not be long in exploding.

In fact, John of Procida, a Sicilian gentleman who had been despoiled by the Anjouines of all his possessions, thirsting for vengeance, put himself at the head of an extensive and deep conspiracy directed to the extermination of whatever there was of French in the island, and to the destruction of the power of Charles in Sicily.

Peter III., king of Aragon, and son-in-law of the deceased Manfred, Michael Paleologus, emperor of the East, and even Pope Nicolas III., induced by jealousy of the proceedings of the audacious French prince, partially entered into this conspiracy. It broke out simultaneously in every part of the island on Easter Monday at the hour of vespers, the day and hour which had been previously agreed upon among the conspirators. All the French who fell into their hands were put to death; nor were the feeble women and innocent children exempted from

the universal slaughter, noted in history under the name of the *Sicilian Vespers.*

Peter III. was recognised king of Sicily, and his fleet, under the command of the brave Roger di Loria, seized Calabria and made prisoner the son of Charles I., who, notwithstanding his own force, the aid of Philip the Bold of France, and the anathemas which his partisan, Pope Martin IV., fulminated against Peter, was never afterward able to recover his lost dominion.

Charles I. did not long survive his misfortunes. He died, leaving the kingdom to his son, Charles II., called the Lame, yet a prisoner in Catalonia; nor could the latter recover his liberty but at the price of the definitive and perpetual session of Sicily to the royal house of Aragon.

[U. C. 2053.] In this year Pope Boniface VIII. celebrated the first secular jubilee, granting to all Christians who should make a pilgrimage to the holy places of Rome the treasures of divine peace and mercy. This pious ceremony drew to that city an infinite number of the faithful from every part.

The pontiff then turning from ecclesiastical affairs to political negotiations, with magnificent promises induced Charles de Valois, brother of Philip le Bel, king of France, to descend into Italy. The object of the pope was to make him the pacificator of Tuscany, which was still distracted by the discords of the Ghibeline and Guelph factions, the latter of which was at this epoch divided into two other factions, distinguished by the names of *Neri* and *Bianchi.*

[U. C. 2055.] The arrival of this prince produced a new revolution in Florence. The Neri, favoured by him and the pope, rose against the Bianchi, and overcame them with great slaughter, hunting them from Florence and from the limits of the republic. In this catastrophe was involved the great poet, Dante Alighieri, who, wandering in his sad exile through various parts of Italy, an honoured guest at the courts of several Ghibeline princes, composed the *Divina Commedia*, which has rendered his name immortal.

At the same time, the war was raging between Boniface VIII. and the equally ambitious house of Colonna. The latter, defeated and overcome by the deceit of the pope, sought an asylum and aid from Philip le Bel, who, from a strong friend, had become the bitterest enemy of the pontiff, in consequence of political misunderstandings which had arisen between them. With what propriety did Ariosto afterward say,

> "Fan lega oggi re, papi, imperadori,
> Doman saran nemici capitali."

Boniface, being assailed in Anagni by the French and Colonnese factions, commanded by the Chevalier William of Nogaret, and by Sciarra Colonna, was made prisoner and treated with much violence. But being soon liberated by the population, who rose *en masse* in his favour, he found refuge in Rome, where it is said he died in an excess of phrensy.

[U. C. 2057.] To Boniface VIII. succeeded in the pontificate Benedict XI.; and to him, through

the influence of Philip le Bel over the conclave assembled in Perugia, Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, who assumed the name of Clement V.

[U. C. 2058.] The new pontiff was entirely subservient to the French monarch, his protector, and to please him transferred the holy see to Avignon; and also, to please him, suppressed the celebrated religious and military order of the Templars, a great number of whose members perished in dungeons or in the midst of atrocious punishments. They were accused of the most abominable excesses; but their true and unpardonable crime in the eyes of Philip was the immense wealth of that order, which, after its suppression, remained confiscated.

The Guelphs and Ghibelines in Genoa proceeded alternately snatching the power from each other's hands; so equal, however, was their strength, that neither party could long preserve it.

[U. C. 2060.] The death of Azzo VIII. of Este, at Ferrara, caused a war for the succession to the state between his legitimate and illegitimate sons. The latter was sustained by the Venetians; and the pope, who at first appeared disposed to favour the legitimate, finally ended with declaring that Ferrara belonged to the holy see, and launching excommunications and interdicts against Venice, the doge, and the Venetians. Learning soon the slight impression which his anathemas made upon the minds of the Venetians, he reinforced them with an efficient crusade, which compelled them to submit and beg for peace. Ferrara, however, shook off

the pontifical yoke in a few years after, and recalling the Estensi, recognised their authority as before.

[U. C. 2062.] Great hopes were excited in the breasts of the Ghibelines by the arrival in Italy of the Emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg, successor to Albert of Austria. He received the iron crown at Monza, re-established in Milan the authority of the Visconti, his partisans, subjected to his will Brescia and Cremona, and repaired to Rome to receive the imperial diadem from the hands of the pontifical legates.

But brief was the joy of his party, and the hopes they had conceived of a resurrection through his aid. While marching against Robert II., king of Naples, a supporter of the Guelphs, he was surprised by sudden disease, perhaps caused by poison, and expired at a short distance from Siena. His death caused the dispersion of the imperial army, which was principally composed of adventurers, and spread the most profound consternation among the Ghibelines.

Pisa, which had made the most ardent demonstrations in favour of the emperor, fearing the resentment of the Florentine Guelphs, applied to the celebrated Uguccione dalla Faggiuola, the imperial vicar at Genoa, and to him committed the care of her defence. He made himself her tyrant; nor of Pisa only, but also of Lucca, where he was introduced by the efforts of Castruccio Castraceni.

[U. C. 2067.] Yet when he had conquered the Florentines—who, reinforced by King Robert, had assailed him—and supposed that he had firmly es-

tablished his authority at Pisa and at Lucca, two popular tempests were excited against him in the two cities, which deprived him of it at once, and compelled him to seek an asylum with Can Grande della Scala, lord of Verona, where he had already been preceded by another illustrious exile, Dante Alighieri.

[U. C. 2069.] At this period nearly all Italy was burning with the flames of civil discord. Pisa, Florence, Bologna, the Marquis of Montferat, the Visconti of Milan, the Dorias and Spinolas of Genoa, the Carracesi of Padua, the Scaligeri of Verona, Castruccio of Lucca, King Robert, and the new pope, John XXII., impelled by a fatal vertigo, and influenced by private and political passions, all contributed to involve this unhappy country in an inextricable labyrinth of intrigues, to devastate it with war, and inundate it with blood. And as if domestic and fratricidal hands could not lacerate it sufficiently, the Ghibelines—who felt themselves too weak to resist the preponderating force of the Guelphs, who were sustained with arms spiritual and temporal by the pope and the King of Naples—called to their aid the foreigner, Louis IV., called the Bavarian. Louis was crowned emperor in Rome, by the excommunicated Bishops of Venice and Aleria, and complicated the difficulties yet more by opposing the antipope Nicolas V. to the legitimate pope resident at Avignon, and causing it to be declared that the pontificate had been vacated by Pope John, as that pontiff had already declared him to have vacated the imperial throne. Hence reciprocal accu-

sations of heresy; hence mutual menaces, admonitions, and anathemas, which filled all Christendom with scandal.

The foolish conduct of Louis, however, and the total failure of the means of obtaining obedience among the troops, soon rendered him odious and contemptible among the Italians; he was therefore compelled to abandon first Tuscany, and soon after Lombardy, and then to repass into Germany, where he vainly attempted to bring about a reconciliation with the holy see.

[U. C. 2083.] The antipope Nicolas V., abandoned by every one after the departure of the emperor, fell into the hands of John XXII., who compelled him to confess his guilt at Avignon with a cord about his neck, and then condemned him to pass his days in perpetual imprisonment.

Notwithstanding the incessant discords and turbulence which kept all Italy in a state of confusion, the light of the arts, of the sciences, and of letters, already began to scintillate, and went on from day to day throwing out rays of purer and more vivid splendour. Giotto and Cimabue drew the art of painting from the shades of death, and raised it to new life. Dante and Petrarch, as Virgil derived his golden language from the impurities of Ennius, so from the corruptions of the ancient Latinity, mixed with fragments of the barbarous idioms of ferocious invaders, they had drawn the softest and most melodious of modern languages; a language which by its incomparable flexibility, like the chameleon, easily adapts itself to all colours—since it now fills

one with ineffable and softened delight in the tender verses of Petrarch—now causes the fountains of tears to overflow at the touching laments of Francisco da Rimini—and now overwhelms with profound terror in the fatal story of Count Ugolino.

An untimely death had already taken off Dante, while in exile, and a just posterity could only assign him a most distinguished place in the temple of immortality. To Petrarch, more happy than him, crowned in the Roman capitol, it was granted to enjoy, while living, the triumphs decreed to him by his cotemporaries.

[U. C. 2100.] It was now nearly forty years that the policy of the French monarchs had succeeded in inducing the popes to fix their sojourn at Avignon. Rome, meanwhile, was a prey to the most unmitigated anarchy. An obscure man, eloquent and fanatical, full of audacity and ambition, called Cola di Rienzi, formed the project of restoring the Roman republic; and while Pope Clement VI., in his palace at Avignon, erected himself into the absolute lordship of Germany, and declared in a bull, that God had given celestial and terrestrial empire to the popes, he ran great risk of losing his temporal sovereignty of Italy. Rienzi, being proclaimed tribune, and put in possession of the capitol, cited the pope, and the Princes Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Bohemia, who were contending for the empire, to appear before him and acknowledge the majesty of the Roman people. At first the nobility made no opposition to this innovation; but when they saw the tribune condemned by the pope,

and through his foolish and extravagant conduct fallen into contempt with the people, they all broke loose upon him. In his flight he unfortunately fell into the hands of Charles of Bohemia, and was by him sent to the pope, who confined him many years in prison; he was afterward liberated by Innocent VI., and subsequently perished in a sedition at Rome.

[U. C. 2107.] While the Visconti by every means increased and extended their power in Milan, and in the neighbouring provinces, the two republics of Genoa and Venice—urged by avidity for gain—disputed with arms the commerce of the East. The Genoese fleet, commanded by Paganino Doria, penetrating this year into the Adriatic, spread such terror in Venice itself, that she hastened to recall, for her own defence, her naval force, which had been sent to subjugate Sardinia.

The two opposing fleets encountering in the waters of the Gulf of Sapienza, and engaging in battle, the Venetians were defeated, after a long and furious conflict, their fleet being partly taken and partly destroyed.

A little while before these unfortunate events, a bloody tragedy had been acted in the kingdom of Naples. To the deceased King Robert of Anjou had succeeded his niece Joan, already married to Andrew, brother of the Anjouine Louis, king of Hungary. Aided by the poisonous breaths of courtiers, it was not long before domestic discord arose between them; some have supposed that its origin was in the ambitious desire for predominance

awakened in the heart of the husband; others, from his jealous suspicion of a breach of the conjugal faith by the young queen. Whatever may have been the true cause, the unhappy strife terminated with the death of Andrew, who was strangled in the royal residence of Aversa; and, true or false, fame accused his wife of the crime.

The Hungarian monarch, desirous of avenging his murdered brother, marched with an army towards Naples. Joan and her new husband, Louis, duke of Taranto, alarmed at the imminent peril, did not await his coming but fled into Provence, where the queen produced her defence before Pope Clement VI., who declared her innocent.

The King of Hungary was soon forced by the pest which then desolated the country, to abandon Naples and Italy; nor had Joan much difficulty in recovering her lost kingdom after his departure. Before leaving Provence, however, of which she was *signora*, she sold the principality of Avignon to the pope, for eighty thousand gold florins.

After terrible reverses, which compelled the Venetians to a very disadvantageous peace with the Genoese, Venice incurred great peril from a domestic conspiracy, whose success would have overthrown and destroyed all the institutions of the republic.

[U. C. 2108.] The septuagenarian doge, Marino Faliero, angry because he could not obtain from the tribunal vengeance upon a noble Venetian who had outraged his young spouse with injurious words, and inflamed with sudden hatred against the aristoc-

racy, made himself the head of a deep conspiracy, directed towards the entire extermination of the nobility and the restoration of the people to their lost agency in the affairs of the government. But the plot being discovered, and he being convicted by the declarations of his accomplices, extorted by torture, paid with his head for his audacious and unsuccessful attempt.

The Cardinal Albornoz, archbishop of Toledo, who had been some years previously sent into Italy by the pope, to command his forces there, for the purpose of extending and confirming his temporal dominion—and who, by the judicious application of alternate courtesy and force, by arming the petty tyrants of the cities of Romagna against each other, by succouring the weaker and restraining the stronger, had succeeded in submitting many of them to the pontiff—about this time finally crowned his labours, by taking from the hands of the Visconti the city of Bologna, which he united to the patrimony of St. Peter, and compelled to recognise the papal authority.

[U. C. 2113.] To Innocent VI. had succeeded in the pontificate Urban V., who—whether he was weary of the influence of the French monarchs over the counsels of the holy see, or whether he desired more directly to enjoy the temporal power restored to him by Cardinal Albornoz—concerted with the Emperor Charles IV. his return to Italy, and thence to Rome, where he was received with boundless transports of joy. He was soon, however, tired of

his residence there, and three years afterward returned to Avignon, where he died.

The Florentines, jealous of the increasing temporal power of the popes, and irritated by the attempt of the Cardinal of St. Angelo, legate at Bologna, to bring Florence under the power of the church, confederated themselves with the ferocious Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan, a bitter enemy to the popes; they drew into their interests the other republics of Tuscany, and excited the cities of the patrimony of St. Peter to regain their liberty. But the papal excommunications, sustained by numerous troops, which, led by the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, occasioned them infinite damage, compelled them to beg for peace of Pope Gregory XI., who had again transferred the papal seat to Rome. Bologna itself, which had shaken off the papal yoke, frightened by the ferocious excesses committed at Pesaro, at Cesena, and elsewhere, by the foreign troops in the pay of the Cardinal of Geneva and commanded by the Englishman Hawckwood, again submitted to the church.

[U. C. 2128.] In this year died Gregory XI., and in this year took place that fatal election, the source of the celebrated schism which desolated Christendom for forty years. The first to be elected pope was the Archbishop of Bari, Bartholomew Prignani, who assumed the name of Urban VI. But the cardinal electors soon becoming discontented with the haughty manners, the harshness and the indiscreet severity of the new pope, retired to Fondi, and after three months, declared that they had been

forced by the people of Rome to choose him, and that he was not their choice; proceeding to a new election, they named a son of the Count of Geneva, Cardinal Robert, who took the name of Clement VII. For him declared France, Spain, and the Queen of Naples; Italy, Germany, England, Portugal, and Hungary, embraced the cause of Urban VI.

How is it possible to relate the disorders and scandals of so fatal an epoch? Excommunications responded to excommunications—interdicts to interdicts—anathemas to anathemas. Clement, expelled from Italy by the victorious arms of Urban, sought refuge in Avignon, under the shadow of the protection of France; and Joan, queen of Naples, soon experienced the vengeance of the triumphant pontiff. He declared her a heretic, guilty of lese-majesty, and as such deposed her from the throne, giving her kingdom to Charles Durazzo descended from a branch of the house of Anjou established in Greece. Nor content with this, to aid that prince in possessing himself of the kingdom he had given him, he sold the sacred vases, and many of the territories of the church, and remitted to him the price upon condition that, the conquest made, he should cede the principality of Capua to Francis Prignani, his nephew.

[U. C. 2135.] The unhappy Joan, her troops being defeated by Durazzo, was compelled to surrender herself; and, being strangled by order of the inhuman victor, paid with her death the penalty of the errors of her inconsiderate youth.

While, however, Urban VI. gave to Durazzo the kingdom of Naples, and the latter effected its conquest, the Pope of Avignon, Clement VII., gave the same realm to Louis, Duke of Anjou, and brother of the fifth Charles, king of France. The new donee transferred himself to Italy, with a numerous army; but, defeated by his more fortunate rival in several encounters, and losing the greater part of his troops by hunger, wounds, and disease, he was compelled to renounce the enterprise.

During this time, the war between the two rival republics of Genoa and Venice was rekindled more fiercely than ever; the latter had the worst of it in a furious naval conflict, in which their fleet was almost entirely destroyed; after which the conquerors took and burned Grado and Caorlo, and possessed themselves of the important position of Chiozza. But Venice, most intrepid in her greatest perils, created a new fleet in the internal canals of the city; this they reinforced by the Venetian vessels scattered through the Mediterranean—which had collected themselves under the command of Carlo Zeno, and flown to the succour of their country—and blockaded the Genoese fleet in the waters of Chiozza; the latter, after the most audacious but useless efforts to liberate itself, was finally compelled to surrender at discretion. This illustrious victory was shortly followed by the conclusion of peace.

[U. C. 2145.] Soon after, the external war having ceased, Genoa became a prey to internal dissensions. The noble and powerful families of Adorno, Fregoso, Montalto, and Guarco, long dis-

puted for power; while the families of the ancient nobility, the Dorias, the Spinolas, and others, retired to their inaccessible castles upon the brows of the mountains, and made war against each other or against the republic, according to circumstances or their own caprice. Galeazzo Visconti, lord of Milan, favoured now this and now that party in pursuance of his double policy, insomuch that, neither of them being willing to cede to the others, each being too weak to subdue the others, and being too jealous for any two of them to confederate for the damage of one alone, they at length agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of France; and it was concluded—

That France should send her vicar to Genoa, who should be invested with ducal authority:

That the council of the republic should be composed of Guelphs and Ghibelines in equal numbers:

That the president should always come from the Ghibelines:

That the laws of the state should be retained:

Finally, that the Genoese should not be constrained to acknowledge the Pontiff of Avignon.

[U. C. 2149.] These stipulations, faithfully observed, would have been capable of giving repose and prosperity to the Genoese republic after so many storms. Vain expectation! The vicar of France was not in this respect more fortunate than the doges.

While these things were occurring in Genoa, Galeazzo Visconti, having purchased of the Emperor Wenceslaus the investiture and title of duke

of Milan with a purse of one hundred thousand florins, changed his power into an hereditary sovereignty, comprehending nearly all the cities which, formerly confederated by the Lombard league, had with their forces preserved Italy from the German yoke. The erection of the new principality was the origin of the cruel wars which the French and Imperialists waged in Italy, until, the male posterity of Visconti being extinct, the former claimed the Milanese as the heritage of the descendants of Valentina of Milan, and the latter claimed it as a fief reverting to the empire in consequence of the failure of male heirs.

Of the two popes simultaneously reigning, one, Urban VI., was already dead; but in vain did the good flatter themselves that his death would cause the schism to cease, since the cardinals, his partisans, soon gave him a successor, who took the name of Boniface IX. The Kings of France and England, tired of the long and scandalous dissensions of the faithful, agreed, during a personal conference, to make a united effort for its termination; but they encountered an obstacle which neither reason nor religion could conquer: viz., the ambition of the two pontiffs.

Pending their negotiations, the Pontiff of Avignon, Clement VII., died. The cardinals who were of his party, each one for himself, solemnly swore in the conclave to renounce the pontificate after election if the majority should judge such renunciation necessary for the extinction of the schism. The Aragonese, Benedict XIII., was elected pope, but

neither cardinals, nor princes, nor prayers, nor menaces could induce him to perform his oath. He and Boniface were inflexible.

[U. C. 2159.] The court of France, indignant at the exhibition of so much obstinacy, declared itself neutral, and declined recognising either as the legitimate pope. The cardinals themselves, irritated by the conduct of both, convoked a general council at Pisa, in whose presence the two rivals were cited to appear. Upon their refusal, they were both declared contumacious, were both deposed, and a new pope was elected by the council under the name of Alexander V. But what did this council effect? The creation of a third pope, and nothing else.

[U. C. 2164.] To Alexander V., who died after a brief pontificate, the cardinals gave for a successor Baldassar Cossa, a Neapolitan, under the name of John XXIII. This one, after having in vain attempted to dethrone Ladislaus, king of Naples, in favour of Louis of Anjou, and after having vainly employed armies and anathemas to that end, finally consented to recognise him, upon the condition that he should entirely abandon the interests of Gregory XII., one of the antipopes, whom he had until then sustained and protected.

The peace between the pontiff and Ladislaus did not, however, long continue. The pride of the former, and the repugnance of the latter to his domination, induced new discords and new wars. The pope had the worst of it, and, Rome being occupied by Ladislaus, took refuge in Bologna, im-

ploring from thence the assistance of the Emperor Sigismund. This prince profited by the circumstance to advance his projects of ecclesiastical pacification. The pope, constrained by necessity, unwillingly granted a bull for the convocation of a new general council at Constance, to treat respecting the antipopes, the repose of the church, and the reform of the abuses which had invaded the ecclesiastical discipline.

[U. C. 2168.] In this celebrated council, conquered less perhaps by their cogent reasoning than by the authority and imposing majesty of so numerous and venerable an assembly, John XXIII. and Gregory XII. reluctantly consented to subscribe the authentic act of their renunciation of the pontificate.

Not so Benedict XIII. Neither prayers, arguments nor menaces availed to shake his inflexible resolution to remain pope in spite of all opposition. Abandoned by all the princes, he sought refuge, with a small band of followers, in the strong castle of Peniscola, in Spain, from whence he continued to fulminate ridiculous excommunications and vain anathemas against the kings, his rivals, and the council; while the latter, by a solemn sentence, declared him deposed, and elected Otho Colonna as the only legitimate pope, who took the name of Martin V.

In Milan, the ferocious Jean-Maria Visconti, who had been murdered by the fury of the people, was succeeded by the not less barbarous Filippo-Maria, who in himself revived the vices, the cruelty, and the political perfidy of his father. He caused his innocent wife, Beatrice Tenda, to be beheaded, upon an

unsupported accusation of adultery; she was formerly the widow of Facino Cane, one of the bravest leaders of the arms of the Visconti, and her only crime was a luminous virtue, too troublesome for a tyrant. He next prepared to free himself, by every sort of means, of all those who had availed themselves of the civil discords to obtain possession of any portion of his states; and, aided by the valour of his famous leader, Francesco Carmagnola, succeeded in subduing the whole of Lombardy to his dominion. He next added the conquest of the valley of Bellinzone, which was the origin of the subsequently sanguinary contentions between the Swiss and the Italians.

[U. C. 2177.] Allying himself with the court of Naples, he made war upon Florence. This republic had lost her brave leader, Braccio da Montone, and being badly defended by two other leaders in her pay, Odo, son of Braccio, and Niccolo Piccinino, who were defeated in divers conflicts, made a league with Venice, which had become jealous of the too rapidly increasing power of the Duke of Milan.

The Duke of Milan took into his pay Francesco Sforza, another good officer, and also Piccinino himself; who, allured by greater pay, deserted the Florentine standard; but he lost, through his stupid pride, the brave Carmagnola, who went over to the Venetians; he was placed by the latter at the head of their army, which, re-enforced by the lords of Ferrara, of Mantua, of Siena, and other allies, caused grave damage to Visconti, and compelled him to conclude a disadvantageous peace with his enemies.

[U. C. 2183.] The desire of the Florentines to avenge themselves of the Lucchese, who had sustained the interests of Visconti in the preceding war, produced a new conflagration. The Lucchese, by them besieged, and succoured in time by the Duke of Milan and the Genoese, under the command of Piccinino, defeated and dispersed their assailants. The latter, however, favoured by the new pope Eugenius IV., and by the Venetians, both desirous of lessening the power of Visconti, united the remains of their army with that of their allies, and proceeded to the attack of the common enemy, under the command of Carmagnola. But the valour of this leader was destined to yield to the superior skill and experience of Sforza, the general of Visconti: as, while he was kept at bay on land by the latter, the Milanese fleet suddenly attacked and completely destroyed that of the Venetians, and Carmagnola saw himself compelled to a precipitous retreat.

The Venetian republic, ungratefully forgetting the signal services rendered to her by this brave commander, saw in this disaster neither a freak of inconstant fortune, nor a wise and prudent leader overcome by a warrior still more wary; but, irritated by the unexpected defeat, she could attribute it to nothing but treason; consequently she recalled Carmagnola to Venice under false pretexts, deceived him with apparent triumphs on his prompt return, and then suddenly loaded him with chains. He was subsequently, in secret judgment, without proof, without witnesses, without being confronted by his accusers, charged with having a treasonable under-

standing with Visconti, and was condemned to death and beheaded as a traitor.

[U. C. 2186.] After having exhausted their forces, the belligerant parties made peace; but tha peace redounded to the damage of the possessions of the church. Sforza, Fortebraccio, and Piccinino, dismissed by the Duke of Milan, and not knowing how to occupy and maintain their mercenary troops, entered the dominions of the pope and formed for themselves lordships in the march of Ancona and in the patrimony of St. Peter; nor were the uncertain promises and threatened anathemas of the pontiff sufficient to deter men of such temper from the execution of their designs. Besides, the pontiff, being himself assailed by a sedition in Rome, was compelled to remove from thence and seek refuge in Florence. There the family of the Medici had already become conspicuous, and, as we shall see, not long after controlled all Tuscany.

The council of Constance had been transferred by the deceased pope, Martin V., to Pavia, then from Pavia to Siena, and thence to Basle. Eugenius IV. did not go there personally, but contented himself with sending a legate instead. From the very commencement of the sessions, the council and the pontiff disagreed. The former renewed the decree of Constance upon the superiority of the general council, and cited Eugenius to appear; but, fearing the fate of John XXIII., he refused. By the mediation of the Emperor Sigismund, the fathers and the pope appeared to be reconciled. But discord broke out anew between them on the occasion of the offer

made by John Paleologus, Emperor of the East, to terminate the schism which had divided the Greek and Latin churches, and to submit himself to the latter. Eugenius then manifested the design of transferring the council to Italy, and there consummating, himself, the great and so much desired work of the reunion, so many times attempted by his predecessors.

[U. C. 2190.] The pontiff being cited for this by the fathers of Basle, he not only did not render himself at such intimation, but with a bull proclaiming their council to be dissolved, convoked another at Ferrara. That of Basle, considering itself permanent, declared the pontiff contumacious, and suspended him from all spiritual and temporal jurisdiction.

Here commenced, as some fifty or sixty years before between the popes and antipopes, a deplorable war of anathemas and interdicts between the pope and the revoked council. The Greeks, in the new council of Ferrara, after long and obstinate discussions, finally admitted the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son, and recognised the supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

After a struggle for centuries, Eugenius might have felicitated himself for having triumphed over the most obstinate schism which had ever desolated the Christian church, had it been in the power of Paleologus to fix the belief of an ignorant people who were infatuated with their own errors. But if the emperor, for political ends, made a show of a change of belief, or changed it in fact through conviction,

the Greek people remained unchangeable, and as schismatic as they were before the council of Ferrara.

[U. C. 2192.] Meanwhile the pseudo-council of Basle progressed in its acts against the pontiff, and went so far as to depose him, and substitute Amadeus, who, from Duke of Savoy, had become a hermit, and consented, in this circumstance, from a hermit to become an antipope. Great were the outrages and anathemas hurled back and forth by the opposing parties; but the schism was not of long duration; since, after the new pope, Nicholas V., had succeeded to the papal chair, the antipope repented of his error, abdicated, and returned to his hermitage.

[U. C. 2200.] Filippo-Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, continued to stimulate the dissensions among his neighbours by his intrigues, until his death liberated Milan from his ferocious tyranny. On the occurrence of that event the plebeians rose *en masse*, drove out the troops of the King of Naples, which had been sent to aid the deceased duke, destroyed the citadel erected for the subjugation of the city, and proclaiming liberty, organized Milan as a republic. Parma, Pavia, and Tortona imitated the example; Lodi, Placentia, and other towns, gave themselves to the Venetians; Asti was occupied by the Duke of Orleans; and everywhere exiles returned and resumed the possession of their property.

The new republic endured but a short time. The external war with the Venetians, the internal discords, and, above all, the incessant intrigues of the

audacious and crafty chieftain, Francesco Sforza, who had espoused a natural daughter of the last Visconti, reduced it to such a degree, that, despairing of longer sustaining itself, it submitted to him, and recognised him as liege lord.

[U. C. 2203.] In this manner the son of a rustic succeeded, by his sword and his intellect, in raising himself to the absolute sovereignty of one of the most beautiful and powerful states of Italy. The Venetian arms and policy thenceforth yielded to the ascendency of Sforza's genius. Florence had fallen under the preponderating influence of the house of Medici, closely allied with him, and consequently opposed no obstacle to his aggrandizement. Alphonso, King of Naples, carried war into Lombardy, to gain by arms what he called his rights; but, defeated by the Florentines under Piombino, he was compelled to return into his own kingdom and renounce the enterprise. The new sovereign was then recognised throughout Italy with little or no difficulty.

[U. C. 2206.] At the same period that Constantinople, in the east, fell under the yoke of the Turks, and Milan in the west submitted to that of a fortunate adventurer, a vain attempt was made in Rome to emancipate that city from the sacerdotal dominion, and restore it to its pristine liberty. The conspiracy was however discovered, and its prime mover, Stefano Porcari, with nine of his accomplices, fell into the hands of Pope Nicholas V., and paid with their lives the penalty of ill success; the pope caused strict search to be made for all those

who had favoured the attempt, and as many as were discovered were sacrificed to his vengeance and for his security. This monarch loved and protected letters and the arts; he founded the library of the Vatican, embellished many cities of the pontificate, and died after having laid the foundations of the immense temple dedicated to St. Peter, in Rome, which now excites universal wonder and admiration.

[U. C. 2208.] Neither the foreign legations nor the national magistrates could long maintain tranquillity in the stormy republic of Genoa. Agitated by incessant dissensions, repulsed by France, which, annoyed by the turbulent humour of these republicans, refused longer to protect them, they finally gave themselves to the Duke of Milan, and submitted to his authority.

[U. C. 2217.] Even Florence was gradually losing her liberty, and the epoch was not far distant when its government was to become a principality, and subject to the sovereignty of one individual.

Venice, although shaken by a series of civil discords from time to time, yet by the strength of her aristocratic orders, by the energy of the magistrates, and by the excessive rigour of her secret tribunals, alone discovered the elements of a long duration under the actual republican form.

Pisa had fallen; Lucca was impotent; nearly all the cities of Romagna were obedient to the pope, some with few franchises, others with none at all. Ferrara, Modena, and some other cities, were subjected to Borso d'Este, created a duke by Pope Paul II.; and of the cities of Lombardy a part

obeyed the Duke of Milan, and a part were under the authority of the Venetian republic. The remainder of the south of Italy had a long time previously become a kingdom.

Francesco della Rovere, who succeeded Paul II. in the pontificate, under the name of Sixtus IV., at first discovered himself as ardent as his predecessors in the execution of the vast plan of again arming all Christianity to oppose a barrier to the rapid progress of the Ottoman power. But, distracted by more engrossing cares, he soon appeared to forget it, and Venice found herself alone charged with the common defence. With a powerful fleet the Ottomans pillaged the coasts of Asia Minor, whence they carried away immense riches; by force of arms, aided yet more by political acumen, they added to their dominions the vast and fertile island of Cyprus, which had been formerly converted into a kingdom, and was one of the poor remains of the conquests of the crusades, yet obeying the descendants of those brave chevaliers who at the call of the hermit drew their swords for the liberation of the Holy Land from the Mussulman yoke.

[U. C. 2227.] Meantime Pope Sixtus IV., desirous of reducing to obedience some cities which had thrown off the papal authority, gave the command of his troops to his nephew, Cardinal Giulian della Rovere, who very soon subjected Todi and Spoleto; but in an engagement with the troops of Nicholo Vitelli, lord of the city of Castello, the cardinal was beaten, and compelled to grant a peace to Vitelli upon honourable and advantageous condi-

tions. The Florentines, under the Medici, had interfered against the pope in this contest; hence the profound hatred of the offended pontiff against that family, which soon broke out to its damage in an event of a sanguinary character.

[U. C. 2231.] Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici governed Tuscany with almost absolute authority, although with forms yet republican. The rich and powerful family of Pazzi was overborne by these, notwithstanding they were united by relationship, and jealously excluded from every important public employment. Not being able to suffer such despotism, Francesco de' Pazzi had retired in anger to Rome; there also resided Girolamo Riario, a nephew of the pope, who was indignant beyond measure against the Medici, because they had obstructed his acquisition of the Imolese principality; and the pontiff, still remembering his own discomfiture under the city of Castello, occasioned by them, united his resentment with that of Pazzi and his nephew.

To commence the vengeance, he nominated Cardinal Salviati, their open enemy, to the vacant archbishopric of Pisa, whom Florence refused to acknowledge; which increased the number and rancour of her enemies.

Meanwhile the ardent Francesco, impatient at the slow progress of affairs, transferred himself to Florence with Riario, who had become a cardinal; there he made himself the head of a conspiracy tending to liberate the country from the exterminating tyranny of the brothers Lorenzo and Giuliano, and to restore its lost liberty.

The conspirators decided to murder both of them in church, while they were assisting at a solemn mass, celebrated under the pretext of honouring the young cardinal. But the design failed in part. Giuliano perished there; but Lorenzo saved himself, and, flying to arms with his numerous partisans, obtained possession of Francesco de' Pazzi, of the Archbishop Salviati, and nearly all the conspirators, who all fell victims to his vengeance. The Cardinal Riario succeeded in escaping, and fled to Rome.

The pontiff, enraged at the murder of Salviati, fulminated a solemn excommunication against Medici and against Florence; and, uniting his terrestrial arms with those of the King of Naples, waged a vigorous war against them. Lorenzo terminated this war by personally repairing to the court of Naples, where, by his magnificence, his talents, and his circumspection, he so gained the hearts of the king and his counsellors, that he obtained without much difficulty an honourable and advantageous peace. From this moment the liberties of the Florentines were lost for ever, and the absolute power of Lorenzo firmly established over the extinct republic.

[U. C. 2246.] After the assassination of the cruel and dissolute Galeazzo Sforza, murdered by conspirators in a church, Ludovico Sforza, called the Moor, was made the tutor of his infant son, and directed all his movements to securing the sovereign power permanently in his own hands, at whatever price. Persuaded that he could not succeed in his atrocious projects of ambition, except with the ruin of the house of Aragon reigning in Naples, he se-

cretly contrived a league against it, into which he had the art to draw, under various pretexts, the pope, the Venetians, the Emperor Maximilian, and Charles VIII. of France; then, profiting by the chivalric and warlike character of the latter prince, he awakened in his heart the desire to conquer a kingdom which had formerly belonged to a branch of the royal family of France.

Charles listened to the flattering proposal, descended with a fine army into Italy, and, traversing Lombardy, marched towards Florence. Meanwhile Ludovico Sforza, ridding himself of his pupil by poison, and incarcerating the nearest relatives in the citadel of Pavia, obtained for himself, from the emperor, the investiture of that state, and proclaimed himself Duke of Milan.

[U. C. 2248.] Charles prosecuted his march towards the kingdom of Naples without obstacle; but the same parties who had called him into Italy, becoming suspicious of his power, repented of having made his alliance, and, secretly separating from, concluded among themselves a new league against him.

Charles was not ignorant of the secret plottings of his unfaithful allies; but, confiding in his own fortune and the valour of his troops, continued his march and victoriously entered Naples, where he for some time remained slumbering in pleasures, in festivals, and merrimakings. He awakened, however, from his lethargy, at the sound of the military preparations of the enemies who had combined against him, and, precipitously leaving Naples, moved quick-

ly towards Lombardy. He encountered the forces of the enemy, disposed to dispute his passage, at the mouth of the valley of Fornovo, and, after a long and obstinate conflict, succeeded in overcoming their opposition, and opening a passage for himself through the Italian bands; but he left a great part of his artillery, and nearly all his baggage, on the field of battle. Arrived at Piedmont, he was brought to consent to a treaty, by which he restored Novara, which yet held for him, and was permitted quietly to re-enter France, reaping little glory and no advantage from his expedition.

Rodrigo Borgia, a Spaniard, having ascended the pontifical throne, after the death of the eighth Innocent, assumed the name of Alexander VI. To this pontiff, promoted by culpable intrigues to this high dignity, history attributes extreme corruption of principles and the blackest crimes. His enemy, the Cardinal della Rovere, fled to France at his exaltation, and neither entreaties nor promises could induce him to leave that secure asylum.

Alexander, who desired nothing so much as the aggrandizement of his own son, Cæsar Borgia, profiting by the intention of the King of France, Louis XII., to make a descent into Italy to sustain his rights upon the dukedom of Milan, showed himself most favourable to the designs of that monarch, and in exchange for this pontifical condescension, Louis rendered himself the instrument of the elevation of his family.

[U. C. 2252.] Cæsar Borgia then abandoned the cardinal's purple, with which he had been cloth-

ed by his father, and was by the king created Duke of Valentinois; he received in marriage a princess of the house of Albret, and the promise of the lordships of Imola, Faenza, Forli, and Pesaro.

The French monarch, certain of the friendship of the pope, and having, by large promises, gained that of the Venetians, crossed the Alps, and invaded the dutchy of Milan with a powerful army. The hated Sforza, abandoned by all, saved himself by flight; and the king found himself possessor of the dukedom without having shed a drop of blood.

But the pontiff, by his insatiable pretensions in favour of his beloved son, raised up numerous enemies to the French in Italy. The princes saw with indignation the arms of the king turned against Sforza, Malatesta, Riario, Manfredi, Varani, and Montefeltro, for the purpose of forming with their states a vast principality for the Duke of Valentino.

Everywhere a general rising was prepared against the deceived monarch; and Sforza, who had taken refuge, with his treasures, at the court of the Emperor Maximilian, used those treasures to pay a large band of Swiss, at the head of whom he re-entered the Milanese territory; but, defeated by the French, and badly served by his auxiliaries, he was again compelled to fly. Discovered in the disguise of a Franciscan friar, he was arrested and conducted a prisoner to France, where he died in the citadel of Loches.

Meantime Cæsar Borgia employed fraud, deceit, steel, and poison, to rid himself of those of the nobility whose estates he coveted. Thus perished

Astorre Manfredi, lord of Faenza, and Giulio Varani, lord of Camerino; thus was Guidobaldo despoiled of the dutchy of Urbino; thus, falling into his snares, lost their lives, Paolo Orsini, Vitelli, Oliverotto di Fermo, Ludovico di Todi, Francesco, and the Cardinal Gravina, and many others who either had possessions which excited his cupidity, or might stand in the way of his ambitious designs.

[U. C. 2256.] While, however, the pontiff, absorbed in his vast views of aggrandizement for Cæsar Borgia, was maturing his project of forming a realm, by uniting Romagna, the march of Ancona, and Umbria, and of conferring the regal crown upon his son, he was interrupted by sudden death, produced by his accidentally drinking some poisoned wine which he had kindly prepared for a guest.

END OF THE FOURTH EPOCH.

FIFTH AND LAST EPOCH.

FROM THE PONTIFICATE OF JULIUS II. TO THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1831.

It is proper, natural, and inevitable to all human institutions, to begin to decline the moment they have attained their highest susceptible point of elevation. Even as we see the rayless sun arise from the east, slowly ascend to its meridian, and then decline towards the west, gradually losing its radiance, and hastening to extinguish itself in the ocean; so have we seen empires arise from obscurity, arrive at the height of their grandeur, then decline, and, being subsequently absorbed in vast political commotions, grow feeble, become dismembered, and disappear.

The spiritual power of the Roman pontiff, exercised over human affairs, having increased from a small fountain to an impetuous torrent, bearing terror to tyrants and hope to the oppressed, now began to subside; and in the times which yet remain to be recorded, we shall see it rushing over the steep declivity which leads to the abyss of all human greatness, and for a second time destroying that irresistible dominion which it had become the singular destiny of Rome, first by arms and next by religion, successively to acquire over the civilized world.

Two immense revolutions, the one a necessary consequence of the other, characterize this memorable epoch, and mainly contributed to weaken the pontifical authority, viz. :—

1st. The religious revolution which broke out in the sixteenth century, and caused so many, so vast, and such populous provinces to withdraw from the Catholic communion and the spiritual sceptre of the popes, and proclaim religious liberty—a liberty to be obtained only at the price of rivers of blood and frightful extermination.

2d. The political, or French Revolution, which aimed at the attainment of civil liberty for the people, took place at the close of the eighteenth century. It was produced by the unfortunate concurrence of a thousand fatal circumstances, and accelerated by the philosophical spirit which predominated at that epoch and convulsed the whole of Europe. Mingling with wonderful cunning and audacity the true and false, the just and unjust, the sacred and profane—agitating timid minds, fascinating the bold, and shaking the belief of all—it gave the last blow to that already so much weakened authority before which the proudest and most powerful monarchs had humbly inclined their foreheads.

Whatever the sovereign pontiffs may have lost of their power over political affairs, will be more than compensated by the respect and veneration they will acquire in the minds of people sincerely embracing the Catholic faith. The beginning of the nineteenth century was in fact illustrated by the long pontificate of a person who united in himself all the

Christian virtues, and conferred extraordinary splendour upon the pontifical tiara.

[U. C. 2256.] The Guelph and Ghibeline factions being nearly extinct, and the numerous small Italian republics being mostly absorbed by the greater agglomerations of states, Italy was, in these days, divided in nearly the following manner :—

The illustrious house of Savoy governed Piedmont.

Montferrat obeyed the Marquis Boniface of the house of Paleologus.

Genoa was governed as a republic ; and the vast Milanese dutchy, conquered by Louis XII., was momentarily held by France.

The house of Este swayed the states of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio ; and Venice governed herself by her aristocratic republican institutions, extending her sceptre over all the adjacent terra firma.

The family of Gonzaga reigned over the Mantuan territory, as did that of the Medici in Tuscany over the expiring Florentine liberties.

Central Italy was subjected to the church, excepting those portions which the crafty tyrant, Cæsar Borgia, had, by the aid of fraud, steel, and poison, appropriated to himself.

The two Sicilies, conquered from the house of Aragon by the united French and Spanish arms, and then from the French by the Spanish, became provinces of Spain under the dominion of Ferdinand the Catholic.

With the fall of Alexander VI. fell also the fortunes of Borgia. Imprisoned in Rome by the cele-

brated Julius II., who had succeeded to the pontificate after the twenty-six days' reign of Pius III., he escaped to Naples; thence he was sent a prisoner to Spain by the Spanish general Gonzalvo de Cordova, called the great captain; fleeing from Spain, he found refuge with his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, and perished while combating in his service.

[U. C. 2262.] In these times the Emperor Maximilian was irritated against the Venetians for giving succour to the King of France, in the war kindled between these princes for the disputed possession of the dutchy of Milan.

They had also offended the King of France by abandoning him in that war, and concluding a separate peace.

The King of Spain was angry because they had obstinately retained possession of Taranto, Otranto, Brindisi, and Trani, places in the kingdom of Naples claimed by that monarch.

The new and enterprising pontiff was offended by their occupation of Rimini and Faenza, which, as he pretended, belonged to the church.

These four princes, resolved to humble the pride of the Venetians, and punish them for what they called their insatiable ambition, formed the memorable league of Cambray against that republic, and divided their future conquests among themselves in anticipation.

Though the blow was sudden and unexpected, the Venetians were not frightened by the appearance

of the black cloud which menaced them with total destruction.

Having collected and strengthened their bands, they confided the command of them to two brave leaders, Bartholomew d'Alviano and the Count di Pitigliano, and prepared for a vigorous resistance. But, defeated by the French with great loss, in the battle of Ghiaradadda, and perceiving that they were unable to show front against so many enemies at the same time, they recurred to negotiations, and endeavoured to break up the formidable alliance.

To the emperor they offered Padua, Vicenza, and Verona; in favour of Spain they renounced the places claimed in Calabria; to Francesco della Rovere, nephew and general of Julius II., who was marching against them, preceded by the thunders of the Vatican, they offered to yield Rimini and Faenza, and put every possible means in operation to soften the exasperated pontiff. The latter, reflecting upon the consequences of the aggrandizement of the French in Italy, began to lend a favourable ear to their propositions, and gave them hopes of a speedy dissolution of the alliance. In fact, the departure of Louis, recalled by important affairs to France, together with some advantages gained over the German troops, gave the Venetians an opportunity to breathe. The King of Spain, jealous of the French, effected little or nothing to the injury of the republic; and the pontiff, satisfied with the concessions and humiliation of the Venetians towards the Holy See, revoked his anathemas, and turned to their aid against their remaining enemies with as much zeal as he

had a short time before employed for their abasement.

[U. C. 2263.] Having made an alliance with the Venetians and with Spain, the pontiff continued to war with various success against the French, and the Duke of Ferrara, their ally, from whom he took the castle of Mirandola; he excommunicated the Bentivoglios, who, with the aid of the French arms, had re-established their authority in Bologna; he excommunicated the council convened against him by his enemies at Pisa, and on his side convoked another council in St. John Lateran, which sanctioned the league formed by him against the French monarch and his confederates.

The French were, nevertheless, everywhere victorious. They defeated the Venetians, and took Brescia, a short time previously occupied by them; and, after having forced the Spanish pontifical army to raise the siege of Bologna, they completely broke and dispersed it near Ravenna. In this last battle, however, they lost their brave leader, Gaston de Nemours, surnamed, for his incomparable valour, *the Thunder of Italy*.

After this great defeat the war was languidly continued amid interminable negotiations. The vanquishers, enfeebled even by their victories, by the loss of their great captain, and the departure of many of their troops for France to oppose the English—who had declared war against Louis XII. at the instigation of Julius II.—confined themselves to the defence of the dutchy of Milan, while the pontiff was attacked by a disease of which he died, in the midst

of his vast projects of ambition, vengeance, and aggrandizement. His successor was the Cardinal de' Medici, who took the name of Leo X.

[U. C. 2266.] The new pope vainly attempted to constitute himself a mediator for the peaceful termination of the war, which raged more fiercely than ever, though with some change of position on the part of the belligerant parties. The French had newly become allied to the Venetians; the Spaniards to the emperor and the Swiss supporters of Maximilian Sforza, who, in consequence of the weakness of the French in Italy, had recovered the dukedom of Milan, of which his father, Lodovico Sforza, had been despoiled. His pacific attempts proving ineffectual, the pope united his troops with those of Spain against the French, much more fearing the power of the latter than the former, though equally hating both; at the same time he determined to draw every possible advantage from their contentions.

[U. C. 2268.] The successes of the Venetians were paralyzed by the defeat of the French by the Swiss near Novara, and yet more by the grave discomfiture of the Venetians themselves by the Spaniards. But their affairs, as well as those of France, were re-established by the memorable victory gained over the Helvetians, near Merignano, by the French monarch Francis I., and the Venetian general d'Alviano. The entire dutchy of Milan fell into the hands of the king; Maximilian Sforza retired into France, to live there as a private individual; the pope, the emperor, and the Spaniards being compelled to make peace, the Venetians recovered nearly

all the states they had lost by the celebrated league of Cambray. The pope gained for the church Pesaro and Sinigallia, besides the dukedom of Urbino, of which Francesco Maria della Rovere, who had possessed it until then, was despoiled.

[U. C. 2270.] At this time broke out the religious revolution which had been for a long time maturing in the silence of the cloisters. Luther, an Augustine monk, was the first to raise the standard against the church of Rome; Zuingli, curate of Zurich, and then Calvin, followed his footsteps. At first they made war against the abuses, next assailed the rites, and afterward the fundamental principles of Catholicism. In a few years Saxony, the states of Brunswick, Denmark, Sweden, and a portion of Switzerland, severed the ties which held them to the Catholic communion. At a later period Geneva, England, and Scotland, a portion of the Netherlands, and of France itself, followed the innovating spirit. Private jealousies of the ecclesiastics lighted the conflagration; political views fermented it; an eager and blind fanaticism spread it in every direction.

[U. C. 2274.] The Emperor Maximilian being dead, the imperial throne was occupied by Charles V., already sovereign of Spain, the two Sicilies, the Netherlands, and Franche-Comtè; and who, uniting under his sceptre the vast colonies of the American continent, just discovered by the Genoese navigator Columbus, governed an empire much more extensive than that swayed by the Roman emperors in the times of their greatest glory.

The power of Charles V. was great, nor was his

ambition less. Francis I., king of France, his rival in the struggle for the imperial diadem, however he might yield to him in power, was no whit his inferior in ambition. Leo X. clearly saw that between these two potent rivals discord could not fail to arise; and, like a prudent prince, prepared to reap advantage from it by confederating himself with the one whose preponderance of power would probably enable him to enchain fortune to his car.

The liberation of Italy from the French yoke was a favourite project with the pontiff; but what advantage can accrue to an unhappy country, when one yoke cannot be broken except by the imposition of another still more heavy?

The imperialists made a descent into Lombardy, and instantaneously mastered the dutchy of Milan, where they re-established the young Sforza, a brother of Maximilian, who had died a prisoner in France. The French being afterward routed at Bicocca, notwithstanding the aid of the Swiss and Venetians, a few places of minor importance only were left them of all they had hitherto possessed in Italy.

Leo X., in the midst of his joy for the triumph of the party he had embraced, and for the much-desired acquisition of Parma and Placentia, suddenly fell sick and died. The cardinals elected as his successor the Bishop of Tortosa, who took the name of Adrian VI., to whom succeeded, after his short pontificate, the Cardinal Julius de' Medici, known under the name of Clement VII.

[U. C. 2276.] The Venetians, seeing the affairs of France in Italy going from bad to worse,

and not believing Francis to be in a condition to restore them, accommodated their difficulties by a separate peace with the emperor, in order to avoid being involved in the ruin of their ally. The emperor, desiring to withdraw them from their alliance with his enemy, granted them honourable and advantageous conditions.

A new French army, under the command of the inexpert Admiral Bonivet, being obliged to retire almost without combating, the hope of the new pontiff that he should be able to bring about a general peace, of which he studied to render himself the mediator, was not unreasonable.

But the descent of Francis I. into Italy with a powerful army interrupting the negotiations, the cause was remitted to the arbitration of arms. Such were the successes at first gained by the French monarch, the Venetians and the pope, suspicious of the extent of the imperial power, secretly united themselves with him. But the errors committed by the king in obstinately persisting in the siege of Pavia, and in weakening his army by detaching a large body of troops for the purpose of sending them against Naples, destroyed the hopes which had been conceived at the commencement, and entirely ruined his prospects. Being attacked under the walls of Pavia by the superior imperial forces, to whom he had allowed an opportunity to concentrate, he was totally defeated after a sanguinary conflict, and fell himself a prisoner into the hands of the victors.

The first effect of so signal a victory was to place all Italy at the discretion of the emperor. In fact,

the pope was compelled to beg for peace; the Florentines purchased the imperial protection with ready cash, as did also Lucca and Siena. The Duke of Ferrara restored to the church the places he had occupied; and the nominal Duke of Milan, imprisoned under the accusation of high treason against the imperial power, left to the emperor the free possession of his entire dukedom.

[U. C. 2280.] The pope and the Italian princes soon after made a combined attempt to remove from their necks the yoke which Charles V. was preparing for them. But their troops, under the command of the Duke d'Urbino, were so badly directed, and the necessary union was so much interrupted by different opinions and interests, that their resistance to their formidable adversary was inefficacious.

In fact, the allied army could not check the Duke of Bourbon, who for private griefs had abandoned the standard of his king, and now, fighting for Charles, was proceeding towards Rome with thirty thousand Spanish warriors. The noble but unfortunate city was assaulted, and, after a vigorous defence, in which Bourbon himself perished, was taken and pillaged by that barbarian horde, who renewed the excesses and horrors which had formerly been committed there by the Herulians, the Vandals, and the Goths.

The pontiff was shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, where he was obliged to submit to the laws of the victorious emperor. Nor were the affairs of the allies ameliorated by the partial successes of the French army newly sent into Italy by Francis, under

the command of de Lautrec. This general lost his life in a hazardous expedition against Naples; and his soldiers, victims to their fatigues and sufferings, as well as to the steel of the enemy, perished in their retreat. The other French army, which, under the orders of de Saint-Pol, prosecuted the war in Lombardy, was also totally dispersed while endeavouring to recover Genoa, which, under Andrea Doria, had shaken off the French yoke, and re-established its ancient republican form of government.

Discouraged by so many disasters, the allies desired peace, which was finally concluded at Cambray. The pope recovered Ravenna and other places lost during the preceding contests; the authority of the Medici, with the ducal title, was firmly established in Tuscany; the emperor obtained from the pope the solemn investiture of the kingdom of Naples; Francis I. renounced his claims upon Italy; Francesco Sforza obtained from Charles V. the investiture of the dukedom of Milan; while the Venetians only lost by this peace—which caused the Doge Andrea Gritti pleasantly to observe, "that Cambray had been the purgatory of Venice, where she expiated the fault of having allied herself with kings and emperors."

[U. C. 2289.] The death of Sforza soon put Charles V. in the desired possession of Milan; this inheritance occasioned new wars between the rival monarchs. But if Francis always carried his arms into Italy with bad success, the emperor was not more fortunate when, triumphant in Lombardy, he wished to make France the theatre of his conquests.

The two princes finally came to a new peace, and stipulated in the treaty of Crepi for a reciprocal restitution of the conquered places; for the re-establishment of the Duke of Savoy in his states; and for the marriage by Francis of the daughter or niece of the emperor, at the choice of the king; with a dowry to the first of the dutchy of Milan, or to the second of the Netherlands.

[U. C. 2298.] The peace permitted the Pope Paul III. to occupy himself with the convocation of the celebrated council of Trent, which had been formerly decided upon for the purpose of opposing a barrier to the triumphant heresy. Meanwhile he detached from the patrimony of the church the two cities of Parma and Placentia, formed of them a dukedom, and, with the imperial consent, invested with it one of his natural sons, Luigi Farnese.

[U. C. 2300.] The severity of the government of Farnese, or, as some pretend, his unbridled dissoluteness, induced a number of the nobility to conspire against his life. They surprised and murdered him, and threw his mangled corpse from the window of the ducal palace.

The imperial troops immediately took possession of Placentia, where the assassination had taken place. Parma declared herself for the son of Pier-Luigi, Ottavio Farnese, who implored the aid of France and placed himself under her protection. Hence new wars, new disasters, and new slaughters in Piedmont, Lombardy, and Tuscany—to which an end was put by the truce concluded between Henry II., king of France, who had succeed-

ed to Francis I., and Philip II., son of the emperor, and his inheritor for the states of Spain and Italy, in consequence of his abdication of all sovereign authority.

[U. C. 2308.] After the brief reigns of the pontiffs Paul III., Julius III., and Marcellus II., the cardinal electors elevated to the pontificate the Cardinal Giovan-Pietro Caraffa, a Neapolitan, known under the name of Paul IV. This personage, a bitter enemy of the Spaniards, by whose power he with great jealousy saw himself surrounded in Italy, used all possible means to excite everywhere enemies against them. He drew into his designs the Duke of Ferrara and the King of Naples. Cosmo II., grand duke of Tuscany, whose alliance was sought by the pope and the Spaniards at the same time, sold his neutrality to the latter for the acquisition of Siena, and of Porto Ferrajo in the Island of Elba, which was by him ceded to the Lord of Piombino. The return to France of the Duke of Guise, recalled by his king for important reasons, rendered useless the successes he had gained in the kingdom of Naples; and the pope, now abandoned by all but his councils, saw himself compelled to yield and come to a treaty with the Duke of Alba, viceroy of the kingdom. He obtained from the latter, however, better terms than he could reasonably have expected.

[U. C. 2310.] This excellent pontiff, of austere manners, and most zealous in religious matters, actively occupied himself with the administration of the ecclesiastical state. Severe towards his own

family as he was towards others, he exiled his nephews, who had rendered themselves culpable by an abuse of power, and created a congregation called the *Buon Governo*, whose wise measures provided remedies for many evils.

So far from loving this pontiff, however, the Romans hated him profoundly for the excessive rigour with which, urged on by his own zeal, he caused the functions of that terrible institution, the Inquisition, to be executed. He founded vast prisons, where groaned crowds of citizens of suspected faith. To such a degree had these measures excited the indignation of the people, that when the news of his death was spread through the city, they suddenly rose *en masse*, forced the prison doors, liberated the prisoners, and committed to the flames the edifice where that formidable tribunal held its sittings.

In these days began to extend itself the recently-constituted society of the Jesuits, which had been approved by Pope Paul III. in 1540. Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, had entirely submitted himself to the authority of the pontiffs, to whom a vow of blind obedience had attached him from the beginning.

The number of its members was at first fixed at sixty; nevertheless, the cities and courts of the old and new worlds were very soon inundated by Jesuits.

This celebrated society soon shone with extraordinary splendour, in consequence of the great number of men, illustrious for their talents, who were seen among them; and arrived at unmeasured power through the privileges accorded to them by the successive popes, to whom they rendered themselves

most useful in the theological controversies which they sustained against the constantly-increasing enemies of the Catholic faith.

Most various have been the judgments pronounced by impassioned men upon the order; some exalting it to the stars for the immense benefits which have resulted from its labours, and others depressing it to the lowest point, on account of the great evils of which it has been accused of being the cause.

To us it appears, that no man can in good faith deny the benefits conferred upon mankind by the Jesuits; but, on the other hand, no one can doubt that it was not without good reason that the society was by a solemn bull suppressed by the venerable pontiff Clement XIV.

[U. C. 2335.] The peace which reigned in Italy permitted Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., to abandon himself to his genius for useful institutions. He founded many colleges for the instruction of the youth of foreign nations, ornamented the grand gallery of the Vatican, erected public monuments, and reformed the calendar. Such, however, were the feelings which divided the Latin and Greek churches, that the latter would never adopt this useful reform; hence the notable discrepance of about eleven days, ever since existing between the Eastern and Western calendars.

[U. C. 2341.] While the civil war, called the war of the holy league of Catholics against the Protestants, was raging in France, Charles-Emanuel, duke of Savoy, took possession of the marquisate

of Saluzzo, under the pretext of opposing a barrier to the heresy which momentarily threatened to cross the Alps, and spread rapidly through Italy.

The Venetians loudly disapproved of this usurpation, considering the strict union of that prince with the house of Austria dangerous to the republic ; and being desirous of procuring a powerful auxiliary for the future, hastened to recognise Henry IV. as king of France, notwithstanding he was heretical, and excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V., and had not yet completely conquered the Catholic opposition, nor obtained quiet possession of the kingdom.

The ambassadors of the pontiff, of the King of Spain, and of the Duke of Savoy, loudly blamed the scandal caused by the republic in recognising an excommunicated prince. But their complaints were vain ; the secular governments had already begun to shake off the yoke of pontifical influence in their temporal affairs, and to deny to the popes the right of disposing of crowns at their pleasure. But Henry IV., tired, although successful, of the struggle against the Catholic league, fomented and maintained by the astute King of Spain, destroyed all opposition by submitting himself. Abjuring the heresy, and reconciling himself with the church, he received absolution from Clement VIII.

[U. C. 2348.] The ecclesiastical dominion was increased by the acquisition of Comacchio and the dukedom of Ferrara, ceded to the church by Cæsar d'Este, cousin and heir of Alphonso II. The death of this prince without sons came near kindling anew the war in Italy. The pope claimed that dutchy as

a fief devolving to the apostolic chamber by the extinction of the reigning direct masculine line; France and the republic of Venice appeared disposed to take the part of the new duke. But Cæsar d'Este, frightened by the threatened pontifical anathemas, and fearing he should be abandoned by his subjects, avoided the tempest by renouncing the disputed dominion, and, contenting himself with the title of Duke of Modena, fixed his residence in that city.

[U. C. 2359.] The peace of Italy was undisturbed in these times, except by the contest which sprang up between the Venetians and Paul V., who denied to them the right of judging a delinquent ecclesiastic; and by the more serious quarrel which broke out into open war between the dukes of Savoy and Mantua, on account of Montferrat.

[U. C. 2365.] After a long controversy and many reciprocal menaces, the first was terminated with great dexterity by the Cardinal of Gioiosa, by an arrangement in which the pope renounced the principle of his pretensions, and obtained the required satisfaction from the republic.

As to the second, resort was had to arms; fortune, however, not declaring decisively for either party, they by mutual desire recurred to negotiations, and the affair of Montferrat was submitted to the imperial decision.

[U. C. 2371.] The event which made the greatest noise in Italy, and which, had it succeeded, would perhaps have entirely changed the destiny of the country, was the Spanish conspiracy against Venice.

The Duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, Pedro di Toledo, governor of the Milanese, and the Marquis of Bedmar, an audacious and profound politician, and ambassador from the court of Spain to the republic, conceived the vast project of subjecting the whole of Italy to that monarchy, destroying Venice, and overturning the state which alone could oppose an obstacle to their design.

The plot was conducted, and the means disposed for its execution, with the utmost secrecy. Numerous bands of the conspirators were already introduced into the devoted city. These were simultaneously to set fire to the arsenals and different quarters of the city, and amid the horror and tumult that would ensue, they were to murder the senate and nobility. A Spanish flotilla was to arrive from the shores of Calabria at an opportune moment to contribute to the success of the atrocious plot, while the Governor of Milan held himself ready, with his land forces, to fall upon their continental territory, of which he had already procured ample intelligence. The ruin of the republic appeared to the conspirators inevitable; already in their dark assembly did they enjoy their triumph.

Two of the accomplices, however, became terrified, through excessive horror, on the evening preceding the frightful catastrophe. Having asked and obtained impunity, they unfolded the great secret to the tribunal of the Ten, who, not wishing to produce an open war with Spain, proceeded with great caution to arrest, try, and execute every conspirator upon whom they could lay their hands. The flo-

tilla, which had been overtaken and dispersed by a storm, returned to its own ports upon hearing what had occurred at Venice. The Spanish court, which would have taken every possible advantage of the conspiracy had it succeeded, most energetically disapproved of the attempt, blamed the viceroy, and recalled Bedmar, who not long after was created a cardinal.

[U. C. 2380.] About this time a ferocious war was kindled in Italy between the imperialists and Spaniards on the one side, and the French, sustained by the Venetians, on the other. This contest was for the succession to the dukedom of Mantua, claimed by Charles of Rethel, heir of the house of Nevers and husband of the Princess Maria, the only remaining descendant of the dukes of Mantua and Montferrat. The Duke of Savoy, persuaded that no more favourable occasion would ever present itself for the desired acquisition of Montferrat, leagued himself with Spain and the emperor, and laid siege to Casal.

[U. C. 2383.] Louis XIII., king of France, rapidly proceeded with an army to the support of Nevers, and, forcing the pass of Susa, compelled the Duke of Savoy to withdraw from the Spaniards and unite his arms with those of the French. Having thus raised the siege of Casal, the king found it necessary to return to France to restrain the Huguenots, who were making new attempts in Gascony.

No sooner were the French at a distance than the Duke of Savoy renewed his Spanish alliance and recommenced the siege of Casal. But soon the

Cardinal Richelieu, generalissimo of the French army, descended into Italy with unlimited powers. Having invaded Piedmont for the purpose of punishing the duke for his violated faith, he vainly attempted to make a diversion in favour of unhappy Mantua, closely beset by the forces of the enemy. The unfortunate city, rather betrayed than vanquished, suffered from her barbarous conquerors, for three entire days, all the horrors, violence, and atrocity to which places taken by assault after an obstinate resistance are usually subjected.

Meantime Pope Urban VIII. constituted himself a mediator between the contending powers, and, after infinite labour, peace was concluded and established by the two treaties of Ratisbon and Cherasco. Nevers preserved the dukedom of Mantua, with a portion of Montferrat, and, humbly asking, obtained the imperial investiture of it; Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, the successor of Charles-Emanuel, who had been struck with apoplexy, acquired the remainder of Montferrat, but was obliged to cede Pinerola, Susa, and other places, to France; the Spaniards and Venetians remaining highly displeased at seeing the French thus established with a firm footing in Italy, and enabled to make a descent there at their pleasure.

[U. C. 2384.] After the war, upper Italy became desolated by a famine, and afterward by the pest, which caused the miserable inhabitants to perish by thousands. Milan and Venice lost a large portion of their numerous populations. In the latter city was raised the magnificent temple, dedica-

ted, in commemoration of this circumstance, to *nostra Signora della Salute*, or Our Lady of Health, by the afflicted Venetians.

[U. C. 2388.] Italy had hardly respired after the anguish of so horrible a scourge, when a new war broke out between the emperor and the French, in which the dukes of Savoy, Parma, Mantua, and Modena were involved; the Venetians, being anxious about their possessions in the Levant, menaced by the gigantic force of the Ottomans, refused to take part in it; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, connected by blood with the emperor, and a vassal of Spain on account of Siena, also remained neutral.

[U. C. 2400.] While the war in Lombardy proceeded languidly and without any decisive results, and was now and then interrupted or suspended by vain attempts at negotiation, Naples became the theatre of one of the most startling events of which the history of modern Italy makes mention.

Naples had groaned a long time under the heavy yoke of Spain, and the iron rod of courtiers sent there to govern it despotically with the title of viceroys.

The Spanish court, ignorant as proud, looking upon this unhappy country the same as upon its Mexican and Peruvian colonies, thought of nothing but how to draw from it by means of infinite and insupportable extortions the greatest possible quantity of gold, without ever taking heed to renovate the source by wise provisions favourable to the development of commercial and agricultural industry.

Tommaso Aniello, vulgarly called Masaniello, a

fishmonger, on the occasion of a new and exorbitant duty imposed upon the fruit introduced into the city, finding all minds predisposed, raised the whole people *en masse*, and putting himself at their head, obtained possession of the government. Endowed with a singular and incomprehensible genius, although illiterate, and unaccustomed to the court or army, he sustained so well the character of prince and general as to excite universal wonder. The viceroy, who could not overcome him by force, found it easy to betray him by adulation. He invited him to his palace for the pretended purpose of discussing and arranging matters of public interest, where, it is said, a hurtful beverage was prepared and given to him, by which the mind of the unhappy fisherman was obscured and overthrown. In consequence of his extravagantly whimsical acts, he now fell into general contempt, where but a short time previously he had been almost adored, and, abandoned by his former friends, it became easy for the viceroy to compass his death by insidious means. The turbulence, which continued some time under other leaders, degenerated into open rebellion against the court of Spain; but their minds were too much divided,—the hatred between the people and nobility was too profound; and among the people themselves some wished one form of government and some another. The Duke of Guise, desirous of acquiring a kingdom to which he boasted some ancient rights, as descendant of Yolanda, the daughter of René d'Anjou, came from France for that purpose; but deceived by the arts of Gennaro Annese, his com-

petitor, he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who did not release him until after five years of severe imprisonment. Finally, the Cardinal Filomarino, archbishop of Naples, humanely interposing between the angry court and the revolted subjects, obtained the pardon of the latter, and the kingdom returned to its obedience to its former masters.

[U. C. 2412.] France, Spain, and the emperor, having become weary and weakened by their long war, came to an arrangement, and peace was established between them and their allies by the two celebrated treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees. The treaty of the Pyrenees is especially memorable for having been negotiated in a new and unusual manner by the two prime ministers of Spain and France, Don Louis de Haro and the celebrated Cardinal Mazzarin, within the limits of the two kingdoms, without any mediator, and without the intervention of the representatives of the other crowns. Italy had no part in the conferences of the two negotiators, nor did that treaty produce any other effect than that of putting an end to a war which had been going on very languidly in Lombardy, and the insertion of an article favourable to the Duke of Modena, a faithful partisan of France.

[U. C. 2422.] The famous war of Candia, sustained with admirable courage and perseverance by the Venetian republic, almost alone, against the immense power of the Ottoman empire, had already endured twenty-five years. The wars which the Christian princes had waged with each other during this time, notwithstanding the urgent exhortations of

the popes, permitted them to yield but occasional and inefficient aid to the invincible republic, to whom victory was almost as injurious as defeat. Candia, reduced to vast heaps of ruins, surrendered upon conditions, after having sustained sixty-nine assaults, made eighty sorties, exploded under the approaches of the Turks one thousand and forty-six mines, and suffered from her ferocious and obstinate assailants the successive explosion of over three hundred mines, which reduced her bastions and all her fortifications to powder.

The venerable pope Clement IX., weighed down by so great a misfortune, fell sick and died; leaving Europe and all Christendom edified by his virtues.

[U. C. 2443.] After twenty years of peace, not interrupted either by the contests between the court of Rome and the proud Louis XIV., on account of his not less haughty ambassadors, nor by the more serious disagreement between the same monarch and the republic of Genoa, which, after having suffered bombardment, was obliged to submit and give the required satisfaction, the ambitious Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, again introduced war into the upper part of Italy, which was consequently desolated with flames, pillage, and every species of extortion by the French, and above all by the imperialists, with whom the duke was confederated. Beaten at Staffarda by Marshal Catinat, he did not suffer himself to become discouraged, but courageously sustained the war. Obtaining possession of Casale, the fortifications of which he caused to be destroyed, he made peace with the French, and by his defection compelled the

imperialists to do the same and to remove from desolated Lombardy.

[U. C. 2449.] This peace neither could nor did continue; already, at the moment even of concluding it, was seen in the distant horizon the terrific whirlwind which was destined to overturn western and southern Europe, and introduce new masters into Italy.

Charles II. of Spain had recently deceased without leaving a legitimate heir to that vast monarchy. That prince, indignant at hearing that the foreigners designed to divide his kingdom among themselves, made a testament in his last moments, in which he declared Philip, duke of Anjou, nephew to the King of France, and grand-nephew to himself in a different line, as his heir and successor to all his Spanish dominions.

Loud complaints were heard from all the courts, and particularly from that of Vienna, against the unmeasured ambition of Louis XIV., who had accepted the testament in behalf of his nephew; and while Philip of Anjou took the name of Philip V., and entered Spain with a powerful army to possess himself of the succession, an imperial army, commanded by the celebrated Prince Eugene of Savoy, descended into Italy for the purpose of taking possession of the states in that province belonging to the Spanish monarchy, and perhaps also of Milan and the kingdom of Naples; but the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, confederating himself with the French, who were much more liberal than the emperor in magnificent promises, gave the Germans so

much employment in Lombardy that Philip V., passing from Spain into Italy, was received and recognised in Naples with not less joyous ceremonies than those with which he had been received at Madrid.

While the Duke of Savoy held for France, it manifestly appeared that the Austrians could hardly dispute with Philip the possession of the monarchy, or at least that part of it. But the duke, discontented with the French, who went on feeding him with only words and hopes, suddenly withdrew from their alliance and joined the imperialists.

At first this resolution was unfortunate for him; as, routed in battle by the preponderating forces of France, Savoy and Piedmont became entirely occupied by the generals Vandomo and Fogliada; all his territories being taken by his enemies, he saw himself reduced to only his capital, Turin, which, being closely besieged, was also in danger of falling into the hands of his triumphant assailants.

Fortune, however, which had pushed him to extremes, and heaped the arms of France and Spain with her favours, became all at once propitious to him, and beyond measure contrary to his enemies. The latter, routed beyond the mountains in the sanguinary battles of Hoestedt and Ramilli, received a yet more memorable discomfiture under the walls of Turin, from the Austro-Savoyards, commanded by himself and Prince Eugene. The terrible and murderous siege being raised, the vanquished and dispersed French fled precipitately to the Alps.

This irreparable disaster drew after it the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, which, being occupied

by the Austrian troops, after a slight resistance passed, like Milan and Sardinia, from the Spanish to the imperial dominion; to which the dukedom of Mantua was soon added by the death of Ferdinand-Carlo Gonzaga without heirs.

The Duke Victor Amadeus easily recovered Piedmont and Savoy, and added to his states Montferrat, Alessandrino, Valsesia, and Lomellina.

[U. C. 2462.] That which is most remarkable in this portion of history, because it more especially demonstrates what we said at the commencement of this epoch in relation to the ruinous decline of the pontifical spiritual authority as applied to temporal affairs, is the fact that Pope Clement XI. did not hesitate to hurl the thunders of the church against the imperialists for constraining the Duke of Farnese to receive the investiture of his estates from the emperor. In other times the ecclesiastical censures would have caused his heart to tremble, and shaken the throne under his feet; but civilization had progressed, and now the imperialists answered his anathemas by sequestrating the ecclesiastical revenues, and the occupation of the Bolognese and Ferrarese territories.

The pope, deprived of the foreign aid upon which he had principally counted, was obliged to yield and make the best arrangement he could with the emperor—his feudal rights upon Parma and Placentia remaining undecided. The treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt restored peace to Europe, and added the Island of Sicily to the much-enlarged possessions of the Duke of Savoy.

[U. C. 2466.] The young monarch of Spain, Philip V., being a widower, and now resolving on a second marriage, the Abbot Alberoni, of Placentia, a man of great talents and most audacious mind, who, from chaplain to the Duke of Vandomo, had become the minister of the Duke of Parma, managed affairs so well that the choice of the king fell upon the Princess Elizabeth Farnese, the daughter and heir of that duke. Alberoni, having passed into Spain with the new queen, became, by her favour, a cardinal and prime minister of the monarchy.

Having attained the end towards which his ambitious views tended, the first political movement he made was to stir up a war with the Emperor Charles VI., then involved in a successful war against the Turks. Sardinia being suddenly assailed by the Spanish arms, the whole island in a few days fell into their power; Sicily met with a like destiny.

[U. C. 2472.] Divers congresses were held at Cambray, Soissons, and Seville, to renew the peace, that miserable peace, woven with so much fatigue and labour, whose fragile web was liable to be rent by every breath of ill-regulated ambition. By the treaty of Seville it was stipulated that the Duke of Savoy, instead of Sicily, which was ceded to the emperor, should obtain the title of King of Sardinia; that the prince Don Carlos, son of the Queen of Spain, should have the investiture of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany; the princes of those states having no legitimate progeny; and that war should be declared against Philip V. should he refuse to subscribe to the treaty.

Alberoni did what he could to impede the execution of this treaty. He put in operation the most audacious and subtle policy, but in vain; he succeeded only in ruining himself. Having fallen into disgrace for not succeeding in his vast plans, he retired into Italy, and Philip accepted the proposed conditions.

[U. C. 2477.] The pontiff and Cosmo III., grand duke of Tuscany, forcibly exclaimed against the treaty, both being irritated; the first by the disregard of the rights of the Holy See upon Parma and Placentia; the second by the disregard shown towards his own person by disposing of his states without consulting him; their rights were, however, unarmed, and therefore neglected as adding no weight to the diplomatic balance.

Peace was declared, but the war yet raged in the ambitious hearts of the princes and their counsellors. The emperor especially, discontented with the last treaty, made every effort to increase his power in Italy, that he might be able to take advantage of the first favourable circumstance offered by fortune.

The jealous courts of France, Spain, and Turin, strictly allied, contented themselves with narrowly observing his movements, until, considering the favourable moment to have arrived, they assailed and conquered the kingdom of the two Sicilies, while another army of the allies invaded Austrian Lombardy.

The imperialists being defeated in the two sanguine conflicts of Parma and Guastalla, the whole country, with the exception of Mantua, submitted to the united French and Spanish arms; and the em-

peror, not feeling himself prepared for greater resistance, consented to a new peace.

[U. C. 2488.] To Don Carlos, to whom in the preceding treaty the dominion of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany had been assigned, was in the present ceded the kingdom of the two Sicilies ; Parma and Placentia, together with the Milanese, remained to the emperor ; Tuscany was ceded to the Duke of Lorena in compensation for his dukedom, which had become an appanage of the dethroned Stanislaus of Poland ; the King of Sardinia obtained the districts of Vigevano, Tortona, and Navara ; to the pontiff, Clement XII., they finally gave the small states of Castro and Ronciglione.

[U. C. 2492.] In one of the periods of peace, or rather truce, which separated the preceding from the subsequent wars, the Cardinal Alberoni, apostolical legate at Ravenna, devoured by his ambition and an irresistible necessity for action, being no longer able to overturn empires and place monarchies topsy-turvy, throwing his eyes upon the microscopic republic of San Marino, it appeared to him adapted, in default of greater enterprises, to become the scope of his political intrigues.

This ancient and very small state had tranquilly existed, governing itself with its own laws, under the shadow of the sovereign pontiffs ; and, from the height of its almost inaccessible rocks, had observed in secure repose and perfect calm the storms at its feet which desolated Italy.

Resolved to extend his jurisdiction over this republic, Alberoni contrived to impress the court of

Rome with the belief that the people of San Marino desired the succour of the church against a tyrannical and oppressive oligarchy, and had the art to induce some of the simple inhabitants to second his views.

Having obtained the consent of the deceived pontiff, Alberoni repaired to San Marino for the purpose of destroying its ancient government; but such was the resistance which he encountered there, and such the expostulations with which they beset the pope, that the latter was undeceived, and, annulling the acts of Alberoni, confirmed anew all the privileges of the state of San Marino.

[U. C. 2494.] The death of the emperor Charles VI, which left the sceptre to Maria Theresa, caused the war to break out anew in Germany and Italy. France, Spain, and Naples declared themselves against the empress; the King of Sardinia alone sustained her interests in Lombardy, as the Venetians had embraced an invariable system of neutrality since the severe losses they had suffered in the Levant.

The first campaigns were rather disastrous than otherwise to the arms of the empress; but having made a separate peace with the King of Prussia, she was enabled to prosecute the war in Italy more vigorously, and regain her lost territory.

[U. C. 2499.] The retreat of the French and Spaniards towards the county of Nizza, left Genoa exposed to the resentment of the Austrians, she having declared herself for France. In fact, it was not long before that city was surrounded by the troops

of Maria Theresa, who summoned it to surrender. It was defended by good fortifications, and abundantly supplied with whatever was necessary for a long and stout resistance; the overthrow of the French and Spaniards, however, had produced such despondency in the minds of her rulers, that they only thought of obtaining the best possible conditions.

Every thing was accorded by the Austrians; but they had hardly entered the city when they changed their language, and assumed the deportment of conquerors and masters. They took possession of the citadel, of the arms, of the provisions and munitions of war, drove the troops from the republic, and imposed exorbitant contributions.

The people, trembling with anger, were agitating their minds with thoughts of vengeance. A single spark would have been sufficient to produce a vast conflagration. Nor was that spark wanting; it burst out by means of the brutality of the Germans.

The Austrians were dragging a heavy piece of artillery through the streets, whose enormous weight caused it to break up the way, which stopped its conductors; the latter wished to compel the people whom curiosity had collected near the spot, to lend their aid in raising the heavy mortar; they obeying unwillingly, a German sergeant struck one of the slowest with a stick which he held in his hand. This was a signal for insurrection.

A rapid and continued hail of stones, hurled at them by the exasperated people, put these Austrians to flight. The following night the furious plebeians

ran through the streets, crying to arms, and causing all whom they met to arm themselves. Some minor successes greatly inflamed their courage; they chose leaders, distributed arms, and regulated the tumult; having occupied some fortifications, they turned the artillery against the Austrians, who at first looked on this disordered movement with derision, and commenced a regular attack upon them.

The contest lasted two days without interruption, and was most vigorously sustained by the people. They then came to a negotiation; but the Genoese, perceiving it to be the object of the Austrians to gain time for the collection of a greater force, furiously recommenced the assault. The frightful uproar, the cries, the menaces, the imprecations, and more especially the thunder of the cannon, so alarmed the Germans that they took to flight, and hastily removed themselves from Genoa, leaving in the power of their conquerors their baggage, their immense magazines, and more than four thousand soldiers prisoners. A strong French force shortly after arriving in the city, rendered vain every subsequent attempt of the enemy to re-enter it.

[U. C. 2502.] The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle once more put an end to the slaughter, and created a new demarcation of states in Italy.

The Infante of Spain, Don Philip, had the dukedoms of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

To the King of Sardinia was ceded a part of the territory of Pavia.

Afterward Don Carlos, king of Naples, having by the death of Ferdinand VI. become king of

Spain, left his first kingdom to his son Ferdinand, who had hardly reached the eighth year of his age.

[U. C. 2512.] During the profound peace which Italy enjoyed through the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, only three important events attracted universal attention.

The republic of Genoa had governed the wild and mountainous Island of Corsica with an iron sceptre. These ferocious islanders, oppressed by infinite exactions, had many times risen with arms in their hands to shake off the insupportable yoke; nor was it without great efforts and the shedding of much blood that the Genoese had been able to subdue and maintain them in submission.

In these times the revolt broke out in the island more formidably than ever, and the Genoese, despairing of subduing it, and unwilling to yield to the pretensions of the islanders, ceded the island to France. The latter, notwithstanding its great power, did not obtain quiet possession of it until after five years of war.

[U. C. 2526.] Another most important event was the total suppression of the order of the Jesuits, which, whatever may have been the cause, had attracted the odium and animadversions of all the courts of western and southern Europe; and by them was its destruction imperiously demanded of the Holy See. The popes resisted as long as it was possible, being generally well affected towards the order; but they were finally compelled to yield, and the Jesuits were, by a solemn bull, suppressed by the sovereign pontiff Clement XIV.

The third remarkable event was the journey of the venerable Pope Pius VI. to the court of Vienna, the residence of the Emperor Joseph II., to attempt to arrest the vast religious reform undertaken by that monarch in his states without consulting the head of the church. This august personage was received with the most distinguished honours, but could accomplish nothing relative to the end he had proposed.

[U. C. 2542.] At this time broke out in France that memorable revolution which, overthrowing and crushing throne, laws, order, and religion, arose a threatening and irresistible giant amid blood and death, and with an audacious and resistless hand shook Europe to its centre.

The monarchs paled and trembled at the formidable name of Liberty, at the sound of which crowned heads rolled upon the earth; nor did it appear to them possible to save themselves except by uniting in a universal and indissoluble alliance against the monster.

Vain efforts! Useless resistance! Armies dispersed, the largest rivers crossed, valleys raised and mountains levelled, the banner of the triumphant revolution waved from the Vistula to the Tagus—from the shores of the Baltic to the Ionian Sea; and before it were flying the fugitive or proscribed monarchs, fearing at every instant that there would no longer remain to them any asylum against the conquering fury which everywhere pursued them.

[U. C. 2549.] In vain did the republics of Genoa and Venice, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and

the minor principalities of Italy, take refuge in a timid neutrality. In vain did the pope and the kings of Sardinia and Naples appeal to the sword, and present a bold front, each sustaining the other, and all sustained by the imperial arms. A young conqueror, Napoleon Bonaparte, of Italian origin, but educated from his youth in the colleges of France, endowed by propitious nature with great perspicacity and vast military talents, descended into Lombardy like another Annibal from the Alps; and with the valour of his warriors, and the favour of a people inebriated by the new ideas with unaccustomed enthusiasm, accumulating triumph upon triumph, rapidly subdued the whole country.

The degenerate republics of Venice and Genoa fell, rather betrayed by perfidious diplomacy than conquered by the fortune of war. France remained master of a portion of the states of the King of Sardinia; the pope with the loss of Avignon, Ancona, and the three legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Ravenna; the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of Naples purchased an uncertain peace with great sacrifices; and upon the ruins of so many ancient edifices arose two new republics, the Cisalpine and the Transalpine, which then, being both united by the supreme moderator Bonaparte, formed only one, under the name of Cisalpine.

Austria, vanquished, notwithstanding the valour of its veteran troops, by the rising French warrior and the impetuosity of his republicans, the heart of the monarchy itself menaced by armies of the enemy, which were victoriously advancing through Ger-

many and Italy, resorted to negotiation and obtained peace. The wretched Venetian republic, despoiled of its riches and deprived of its Greek islands, which were retained by France, was ceded to Austria in compensation for the loss of Lombardy.

In this first phasis of the Italian revolutionary war, the French republicans conducted themselves more like cruel enemies than like friends and protectors, in the Italian provinces they occupied. Since to the immense amount of property which disappeared through their means, to the exorbitant and incessant requisitions of all kinds of supplies—which served more to fatten a few individuals than to relieve the half-naked troops—was added the universal pillage of the choice masterpieces of ancient and modern art, in sculpture, painting, medals, manuscripts, engraved gems, etc., which adorned the temples and public and private edifices. The chances of war have partially restored to Italy these blameable and nearly useless robberies. But how many precious objects have been ruined either by the carelessness or wickedness of those who presided over and regulated the pillage.

[U. C. 2551.] From the Cisalpine republic, as from a common centre, spread in every direction the flattering ideas of liberty and equality, which could not but make a profound impression upon the discontented people who yet lived under the ancient forms of government. Upon the masses, however, of the people of Rome and of the kingdom of Naples, —who united in themselves much religion, more ignorance, and not less superstition,—these opinions

made no impression. Moreover, two attempts made in Rome itself to call the people to an incomprehensible liberty, terminated so unhappily that both became fatal to the leaders of the imprudent enterprises, who became victims to the tumults they excited.

These unfortunate events drew after them the occupation of the ecclesiastical states by the republican armies, the captivity of the venerable pontiff, Pius VI., who terminated his unhappy life at Valence, in France,—the subsequent invasion of Naples, for which reasons could not be wanting, and the creation of the new and ephemeral Roman and Parthenopean republics.

Ferdinand IV. of Naples saved himself by flying to Sicily, where he reigned, or appeared to reign, under the shadow of the protecting banner of Great Britain. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had already pursued a similar course, retiring into Austria; and his dukedom was occupied by the republicans.

[U. C. 2552.] But the greatest change in Italian affairs was yet to occur. A new and formidable coalition was formed against the French revolution. The armies of Russia and Austria, paid by England, rekindled a furious war; and while the great captain was reaping useless laurels on the scorched plains of Egypt, and the republican arms, assailed and discomfited on every side, defended with great difficulty the frontiers of their sacred natal soil, the Italians, with astonishment and terror, beheld the appearance in Italy, conducted by Suwaroff, of the descendants of those Scythians and savage Tartars who had devastated their country eleven

centuries before. The French, unable to resist their impetuosity, and having lost the battles of Verona, Novi, and Trebbia, abandoned nearly the whole of Italy, and confined their efforts to the defence of extreme Piedmont and Piazzi, which they had garrisoned.

[U. C. 2553.] The Cardinal Chiaramonti, elected pope by the conclave held in Venice, re-entered his metropolis under the name of Pius VII., amid universal rejoicings. Ferdinand IV. had already returned to his kingdom; but his return was unfortunately preceded, accompanied, and followed by horrible acts of sanguinary and atrocious vengeance. Happy that prince who, in the mutations of human affairs, knows how to pardon! Clemency softens and gains the most exasperated spirits. Punishments and executions centuplicate the odium, and cause a desire and thirst for vengeance in the survivers.

While, however, a part of the southern allied army approached the Varo, and a part were preparing to reduce the strong places yet held by the republicans, Bonaparte, suddenly and unexpectedly as the lightning's flash, arrived in France from Africa. There, by a most audacious blow, he overthrew the weak government, gave a new form to the state, a new impulse to the military movements, and, taking for himself the title of first consul of the republic, marched with the army of reserve collected at Dijon to repair the disasters which the unskilfulness of her commanders had inflicted upon France.

Crossing with incredible courage and celerity the

steep and inhospitable cliffs of St. Bernard, to the astonishment of the Austrian general, he unexpectedly appeared in the valleys of Piedmont; where, gaining the memorable and decisive battle of Marengo, in one day he reconquered Italy and peace.

Tuscany, with the title of King of Etruria, was ceded to Don Louis de Bourbon, son-in-law of Charles IV. of Spain, and son of the Duke of Parma, who, amid so many storms, had by a singular destiny preserved his small state. Genoa became the republic of Liguria; Piedmont was incorporated with France; the Cisalpine republic was re-established, comprising Milan, Mantua, Modena, the three legations, and Romagna; the extinct republic of Venice was for ever confirmed to Austria.

[U. C. 2558.] But an immeasurable ambition devoured the heart of the great captain. As much opposed to all civil equality as he was brave in arms, he desired and obtained the imperial dignity. The pontiff, Pius VII., seduced by flattering promises, proceeded to France, and sanctioned the coronation of the new monarch with all the ceremonies of religion.

Austria, so many times defeated, was not yet vanquished; jealous of her own independence, every day more and more threatened by the fortunate crowned adventurer, she reorganized her army with incredible efforts, supplied the necessaries for the war from the admirable affection of her hereditary states, re-enforced herself by powerful alliances, and summoned her rival to a new trial of strength, skill, and valour.

The court of Naples, persuaded that the time for driving the French from Italy had arrived, violated its stipulated neutrality, and declared war against them. This precipitous resolution, suggested more by personal hatred than prudent policy, added no strength to the Austrian forces, which in Italy as in Germany were destined also this time to succumb, and caused Ferdinand again to lose his realm. For the second time he emigrated to Sicily, and from thence saw with despite the most beautiful of his crowns shining upon the forehead of the brother of Napoleon, Joseph Bonaparte.

In vain, seconded by the British forces, did the court of Sicily attempt to recover its lost kingdom, or at least to keep alive its party there; in vain did Gaeta oppose a long and vigorous resistance to the conquerors; the latter was finally compelled to yield, and the former to renounce every hope.

[U. C. 2562.] Having, in the wars of 1805, '6, and '9, with prodigies of valour and military science, overthrown and subdued Austria, Prussia, and Russia; having conquered the two first monarchs—dictated the terms of peace to all; and having obtained an Archdutchess of Austria for his wife, it would seem that the ambition of the Emperor of the French ought to have been satisfied, and that he himself, after so many warlike fatigues, ought to have been desirous of reposing upon his laurels. But it was not so. Like the victim of intemperance, who, the more he drinks the more he desires to drink, so the more he conquered the more he desired to conquer.

Deluding the royal family of Spain with insidious

negotiations, he retained their persons in his power, and applied himself to the forcible subjugation of that monarchy, which two vain and forced abdications could not give to him. Having called his brother Joseph to reign upon that throne surrounded by storms and whirlwinds, he placed his brother-in-law, the brave Joachim Murat, upon the vacant royal seat of Naples.

The ecclesiastical state was small, unarmed, inoffensive, and unimportant; but small and unimportant as it was, it was nevertheless coveted by the Emperor of the French; nor was he restrained from invading it by the ancient rights of the possessor, respect for the papal dignity, nor kindness towards the venerable pontiff who had crowned him. On the contrary, the sacred person of the pope was violently torn from the papal residence in the night, and hurried into captivity and exile in France.

Nor had the young King of Etruria and his mother, the regent of the kingdom, a better destiny. Expelled from their palace, they found in Spain a temporary and insecure asylum.

The estates of the deceased Duke of Parma had been united to France.

Had Napoleon, in the midst of his prosperity, at a time when the humbled monarchs trembled at his nod—had he then determined to found a strong, stable, and permanent state, reuniting all Italy in one kingdom, posterity would perhaps have pardoned him the unjust usurpation of so many provinces in that beautiful but unhappy country.

But no; a part he united to France, a part he

contemptuously called the kingdom of Italy, of which he himself held the title, placing there his adopted son Eugene Beauharnois as viceroy, and a part, the kingdom of Naples, he left as it was, under the sceptre of Murat.

The fortune of Napoleon, having attained its greatest elevation, could not but decline: it did in fact decline most rapidly, and only three short years sufficed to overthrow the work of three lustres.

[U. C. 2565.] Vanquished rather by the elements than the sword, in the immense frozen deserts of Russia, where he had been led by his vast ambitious designs;—betrayed by insincere allies, whom he had already offended by his conquests and his pride;—abandoned, after having displayed prodigies of military talents, by that fortune which until then had appeared to be chained to his triumphal car—he fell!—and with him fell the monarchs he had created. The Island of Elba was destined by his conquerors to become the sepulchre of so much glory. Murat attempted to save himself in this universal shipwreck of new crowns; a political ingrate, he turned his arms against his relative and benefactor, and united himself with his enemies. That they might not have him as an enemy, they accepted him as an ally;—they feigned with him as he had feigned with them—as subsequent events proved.

Meanwhile the King of Sardinia had re-entered his states, increased by the addition of the republic of Genoa, which not long before had been flattered with the promise of its future independence.

The family of Este, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Pope Pius VII., had all revisited their subjects.

Austria had retained for herself Milan, Mantua, and the states of Venice.

The dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla were, by a decree of the congress of Vienna, assigned to the Empress Maria Louisa, consort of Napoleon; and the small principality of Lucca was conceded to the nephew of the Duke of Parma, already King of Etruria.

While the allied sovereigns were thus quietly arranging the affairs of Italy,—nourishing in their breasts, however, grave disagreements upon their ultramontane affairs, which presented much greater difficulties—Napoleon, breaking the laws which enchained him to the Island of Elba, suddenly landed on the shores of France. Followed by a small number of veteran warriors, and favoured by the last rays of that star which was about to suffer an eternal eclipse, he marched rapidly to Paris, successively augmenting the number of his troops by the forces which were successively sent against him.

Hardly returned from exile, it became necessary for the Bourbons to seek it anew. But, from every part of Europe, kings and emperors flew to arms to oppose one whose name alone yet made them tremble.

Murat, instructed as to the hostile sentiments of the allied monarchs in relation to him, and considering himself already as lost, determined to take ad-

vantage of this occasion and attempt to save himself by a desperate stroke of policy.

He suddenly marched towards upper Italy, with 40,000 men, to assail the Austrians, proclaiming everywhere as he went the liberty and independence of Italy. But these two magic words sounded badly upon the lips of a stranger known only as a despot; they produced therefore no effect. Murat pursued his desperate plan, however, and met at first with some success. But, soon overcome by superior force, and by troops more experienced and warlike than his own; menaced by the English, notwithstanding the armistice yet existing; exceeded in numbers by the body of Austrians on his left; beaten in every encounter, notwithstanding his prodigies of personal valour, and finally abandoned by a portion of his troops who had been seduced by the enemy; after having vainly sought death on the field of battle, he finally fled and repaired to Naples. There, after nominating the queen as regent of the kingdom, he embarked and retired to Provence.

The queen, after having capitulated, also embarked on board an English vessel, and proceeded to Trieste; from thence she retired into the Austrian states, where she lives honourably under the name of the Countess of Lipano.

And thus, after a forced absence of ten years, Ferdinand IV. returned to his kingdom for the second time, and assumed the title of Ferdinand I., king of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

This second return was not stained by the horrible atrocities which accompanied the first; Caroline,

the queen, no longer existed; besides, his first return was effected by an irregular army, mostly composed of villains and robbers; while this time every thing was effected by a regular Austrian army, not less commendable for its valour than for its exact discipline.

Murat, neglected by his haughty kinsman, whose fortunes were buried in the fatal fields of Waterloo, retired to Corsica. There, either through a strange disorder of ideas, or a failure of his mental faculties, he conceived the most foolish design that ever occurred to the human mind, viz., that of approaching the shores of the kingdom of Naples with two hundred followers, to recover a state which he had been able neither to defend nor preserve with a regular army. His friends vainly strove to shake his resolution with advice and arguments.

Firm as a rock in his purpose, he set out from Corsica, and arrived on the shores of Naples, accompanied by those few faithful and generous friends who were determined to share with him his destiny, whatever it might be.

It was most unfortunate! Falling, immediately on landing, into the snares set for him, he was taken, tried, condemned, and put to death.

From 1816 to 1831, few important events occurred in Italy.

[U. C. 2569.] The first of these was the reorganization of the celebrated order of the Jesuits by Pope Pius VIII., forty-three years after its suppression by Clement XIV. This measure, whatever may have been the motive which dictated it, was in

effect nearly useless, since the company of Jesus could no more do what it had done, nor could ever again become what it had been. The times, men, and circumstances were essentially changed; while the Jesuits cannot change, because if they did they would no longer be Jesuits.

[U. C. 2574.] The two revolutions which broke out in the kingdom of Naples and in Piedmont, were also events of some importance. Of the last it is not necessary to speak, as it did not become general, and was not sustained; it lived but a few days, and expired under an overpowering Austrian force, the executors of the will of the holy alliance of monarchs. The only effect it produced was the generous abdication of the King of Sardinia in favour of the late king Carlo Felice, and the removal from the court and state of the Prince di Carignano, actual king of Sardinia.

It was not so with that of Naples. Conducted with admirable order and moderation, a constitution was proclaimed, which was solemnly accepted and sworn to by Ferdinand, who, before his second return to the kingdom, had formally promised it.

But so great from the beginning were the diplomatic intrigues and machinations employed against this unfortunate constitution, and such the foreign force directed against it, that it miserably expired after eight months of painful existence, betrayed and abandoned by the citizens, and badly defended by a people who comprehended little or nothing of its advantages.

[U. C. 2584.] Italy, if not content, was at least

apparently tranquil, when suddenly broke out the second French revolution of the 27th July, 1830, which took the throne from Charles X., and from the whole elder branch of the Bourbons, and substituted for them the younger branch, or the house of Orleans.

The liberal principles at first proclaimed by the new government, that above all, loudly declared, of non-intervention—that is, of not desiring to interfere with the affairs of others, and a determination that others should not be permitted to interfere with their neighbours—encouraged the malecontents of Parma, Modena, the pontifical legations, and Romagna to change their despotic into constitutional governments—believing themselves sufficiently strong to succeed in the undertaking without foreign aid, and persuaded that the principle of non-intervention would serve to shield them against foreign opposition. But the few months which elapsed between August, 1830, and February, 1831, had produced great changes in the councils of the French monarch. In spite of the *non-intervention*, the Austrians, without any opposition, interfered and easily suffocated the feeble cry of liberty wherever it was heard.

Many unfortunate Italians were compelled to abandon their dear native soil; many others, still more unfortunate, fell victims to the error into which they were led by the principle proclaimed by the French government. Happy would it have been for them had they understood, before raising the standard of liberty, the tardy explanation of that principle given to the national parliament by a minister of the

new king! How many evils would central Italy have avoided, had the French proclaimed at first, that "WILL NOT CONSENT" means any thing but "WILL FORBID."

END OF THE FIFTH AND LAST EPOCH.

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